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POLITICAL, SOCIOLOGICAL AND MILITARY AFFAIRS

No. 258



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PARTY AND STATE

DIFFERENCE IN LEADERS' AUTHORITY, PERSONALITY CULT DESCRIBED

Harbin HEILONGJIANG RIBAO in Chinese 11 Nov 81 p 3

[Article by Liu Yunjiu [0491 0061 0036]: "What Is the Difference Between Upholding Leaders' Authority and Advocating a Personality Cult?"]

[Text] On the basis of the international communist movement and our party's years of experience and lessons, the "Resolution" points out the need to forbid a personality cult in any form and to uphold the authority of leading figures while insuring that their activities are supervised by the party and the people. This thesis is entirely correct.

Authority is absolutely essential in any society. Engels said: "On the one hand is definite authority.... On the other is definite subordination. Whatever the social organization, these two are indispensable to us under the material conditions on which production and circulation of products depend." ("Selected Works," Vol 4, p 401) That is to say, in any society, as long as interconnected activities exist, there must be definite authority and definite subordination. The socialist revolution and construction carried out by the proletariat is the most profound, the greatest and the most formidable struggle in human history, requiring the guidance of a correct line, close-knit organizational work and the unity and struggle of millions upon millions of people marching in step. For this reason, its revolutionary authority is all the more indispensable.

Marxist recognition of the authority of leading figures and their important role is also based on the principle of historical materialism concerning the interrelationship between leaders, political parties, classes and the masses. Lenin said: "The masses are divided into classes.... Classes in general are led by political parties; political parties in general are presided over by comparatively stable groups consisting of the most authoritative influential and experienced leaders elected to assume the most important posts." ("Selected Works," Vol 4, p 197) It is precisely because the leading figures on the one hand and the party, the class and the masses on the other are closely connected and dependent on each other in the practice of revolution that the revolutionary authority of leading figures is spontaneously formed in the practice of protracted mass struggle and that the outstanding revolutionary activities of the leading figures play a historical role in promoting the development of revolution. It is in this sense that the "Resolution" points out: Comrade Mao Zedong saved the Chinese revolution from crises on many occasions; "without the firm and correct political orientation indicated by the party Central Committee headed by him for the whole party, the people of all nationalities and the people's army, our party and people might have had to stumble in the dark much longer." This is not undeserved praise but a scientific evaluation of the

tremendous role played by Comrade Mao Zedong. This is not true of a personality cult. A personality cult breaks away from practice, flies in the face of facts, and even confounds right and wrong, giving all the credit to a certain leader, deifying leading figures and magnifying the personal role of leaders into one deciding the progress of history. It fundamentally violates the tenets of historical materialism. "The only one in several hundred years, several thousand years," "absolute authority," "the highest directive," "the ultimate standard" preached by Lin Biao and the "gang of four" were typical personality cult rubbish.

Marxism holds that leaders of the proletariat, the party, the class and the masses are an indivisible whole, that leading figures can bring into play their role as the revolutionary authority only when they put themselves among the masses and within the collective of the party. Leading figures must place their relations with the party and the masses in the proper position. Only when living among the masses and within the party and acting as an ordinary member never divorced from the organization and the masses can a leader continue to draw on wisdom and nourishment, understand the demands and views of the masses, and uphold the correct orientation under normal supervision. A personality cult is fundamentally different. It places leaders above the party and the masses, undermines the principle of democratic centralism and collective leadership, and turns the leading figures into "saviors" divorced from the collective of the party, from the class and from the masses, with the result of doing both the leader and the party great harm.

Marxism holds that the revolutionary authority of leading figures is an embodiment of the people's will and interests. This being so, upholding the authority of leaders is identical with upholding the class interests and the party interests. On no account may upholding the authority of leaders be understood as subordination to the personal will of a certain leader. Comrade Deng Xiaoping made it clear in his report on revision of the party constitution at the Eighth Congress: "Loving care for leaders... essentially finds expression in loving care for the party interests and the people's interests, not in deification of an individual." A personality cult, on the other hand, makes the will of the leader absolute, abuses the powers bestowed by the people, and unscrupulously undermines the organizational principle and discipline of the party. It runs counter to the fundamental interests of the party and the people.

In short, upholding the revolutionary authority of leaders and advocating the cult of individuals are two essentially different things, giving expression to the fundamental antithesis between the materialist conception and the idealist conception of history. We must firmly subordinate ourselves to the revolutionary authority and resolutely oppose a personality cult. For the present, upholding the revolutionary authority means politically becoming one with the party Central Committee and, in practice, opposing anarchism and bourgeois liberal trends. It must be clearly understood that our opposition to a personality cult absolutely does not mean doing away with the revolutionary authority of leading figures, but scientifically affirming the position and role of leading figures so as to improve and strengthen party leadership.

PARTY AND STATE

FORMER HEBEI PARTY CHIEF CRITICIZED FOR LEFTIST IDEOLOGY

Shijiazhuang HEBEI RIBAO in Chinese 3 Nov 81 p 1

[Article by Chang Chun [1603 2504], Li Zhanshu [2698 2069 2579], and Zhang Wenguang [1728 2429 0342]: "Liquidate the Leftist Influence by Means of Criticism and Self-Criticism"]

[Text] The Standing Committee of the Shijiazhuang Prefecture CCP Committee recently devoted 3 and 1/2 days to studying documents on the work conference of the Hebei Province CCP Committee, and launching criticism and self-criticism regarding what it had done and what it had in mind. The aim was to liquidate the erroneous leftist influence of the former principal responsible person of the provincial party committee and to bring ideological order out of chaos.

In the course of liquidating the erroneous leftist influence of the former principal responsible person of the provincial party committee, Jie Feng [6043 1496], first secretary of the Shijiazhuang Prefecture Party Committee, took the lead in criticizing himself. He said: For the past several years, the former principal responsible person of the provincial party committee constantly criticized me as a rightist. In fact, my key mistake lay in being a leftist. As a leftist, I did great damage to the party cause, despite the fact that as a leftist, I still could not live up to his expectations. Comrade Jie Feng also took note of the following ideological apprehensions: apprehension about committing the mistake of punishing the innocent again in the course of criticizing leftists, implementing policies, and consolidating leading bodies; apprehension that the correction of leftist errors resulting from the movement to learn from Dazhai might have the effect of dampening the enthusiasm of cadres and the masses; and apprehension that the prefecture may have gone too far in implementing the economic policy for the countryside. He pointed out: Such ideological apprehensions were mainly caused by an incorrect assessment of leftist mistakes and their harmful effect, and by lack of a deep understanding of the guidelines of the party Third Plenum. These are factors which resulted in the following "faulty" or "unsatisfactory" performances: 1) The failure to concentrate on consciously and thoroughly criticizing the leftists and on getting the basic campaign to criticize the former principal responsible person of the provincial party committee off the ground led to the failure to thoroughly implement the guidelines of the party's third, fourth and fifth plenums, to carry out policies, to consolidate leading bodies, and to rectify the party's workstyle and social practices to the people's satisfaction. 2) Industry was neglected. Although early this year we were urged to remember the lesson of 1979, apart from discussing this at meetings, no further efforts were made to study the new situation, solve new problems, and

help comrades in charge of industry overcome difficulties. During the first 7 months of this year, no attention was given to the development of industry. It was not until August that a briefing on industry was held in response to a request for preparation of a report on the subject. A waste of more than half a year meant a delay in seeking solutions for problems which otherwise possibly would have been solved earlier. The consequence was an unsatisfactory performance in industrial production. 3) During the implementation of the agricultural production responsibility system, the prefecture failed to achieve a deep appreciation of the "contractual services performed on a grand scale." The result was many false steps leading to an undue increase in workload. Although active steps were taken to put into effect the joint wheat production responsibility system, the leftist influence prevailed, preventing a thorough assessment of a rural tendency to "perform contractual services on a grand scale." In the end, participants in the meetings held to exchange experiences in practicing the system of linking planned wheat output with manpower adopted an "evasive" attitude toward this system and hesitated to promote it widely in accordance with specific local conditions. 4) Our failure to do everything on a solid basis, to conduct thorough investigations and study and to take action on plans and circulars decided on by meetings made impossible a thorough implementation of many measures. A case in point is that no progress was made in diversifying the economy and in planting trees. This is why there has been a very sluggish growth in logging operations; over half of the barren mountains remain to be covered with trees; difficulties still exist in planting trees in the plains, along rivers, canals and roadsides, and around the housing areas; the output of dried and fresh fruits has been very low; timber supplies remain far from meeting the people's needs for production and for home use in the prefecture; and the value of cash crops has been very low, accounting for only 29 percent of the gross value of the agricultural output. What is more alarming is the fact that large tracts of mountain slopes were levelled into fields, thus causing a loss of soil and water and damage to the development of forestry, animal husbandry, and a diversified economy.

Under the guidance of Comrade Jie Feng, the "squad members" of the Standing Committee made more conscientious efforts than ever to develop criticism and self-criticism. They unanimously maintained that the low level of their political consciousness was an important factor making them susceptible to the leftist influence of the former principal responsible person of the provincial party committee and victims of his leftist fallacy. It can be said that they blindly followed him for the sake of preserving to a certain degree the honor of Shijiazhuang Prefecture as an "advanced unit." Although sometimes they considered his viewpoints "distasteful" and not sensible, the party organizations still vowed to obey his orders. From this experience, they have learned this lesson: As communists, responsible party cadres must overcome all their selfish desires and firmly move in the direction consistent with the political line of the Central Committee, instead of blindly following a certain individual.

As a result of criticism and self-criticism, the "squad members" of the Standing Committee reached an ideological consensus, clarified their attitude, and found a common language on the leftist mistakes of the former principal responsible person of the provincial party committee which affected five aspects of life in Shijiazhuang Prefecture.

PARTY AND STATE

FREEDOM OF SPEECH WITHIN FRAMEWORK OF SOCIALISM DISCUSSED

Nanjing XINHUA RIBAO in Chinese 10 Nov p 3

[Article by Zhang Chuanjia [4545 0278 1367]: "Random Talk About the 'Freedom of Speech'"]

[Text] Efforts must be made to develop criticism and self-criticism and to eliminate thoughts and statements which have a harmful effect on the implementation of the party's line, principles and policies and on the effort to uphold the four basic principles. In response to this advocacy, some comrades who are unwilling to think this matter over thoroughly have raised the question: Doesn't this mean that restrictions must be imposed on "freedom of speech"? In response to this question, I consider it necessary to discuss "freedom of speech" as a matter of interest.

"Freedom of Speech" Brooks No Distortion

The practice of "freedom of speech" among the people is a firmly established socialist democratic principle which has been written into the constitution of our country and is guaranteed by the laws of the land.

Nevertheless, "freedom of speech" is not an aim in itself but a democratic means for the people to protect their interests. There is certainly a reason for the people to have "freedom of speech," but it is not practiced for its own sake. (Much less can it be abused by anyone to undermine their interests.) Rather, "freedom of speech" is practiced in order to pool wisdom for the benefit of the people, for putting them in a better position to exercise power as masters of their own country, and for paving the way for safeguarding their interests. Clearly, what matters most to us in this connection is a sense of responsibility. Comrade Mao Zedong said: "Our duty is to hold ourselves responsible to the people. Every word, every act and every policy must be in conformity with the people's interests." The notion that the granting of "freedom of speech" means granting a right to irresponsible criticism is a gross distortion of "freedom of speech."

Comrade Mao Zedong said: "Within the ranks of the people, everyone should be allowed to express views different from others and even incorrect views; in dealing with comrades who hold incorrect views, we must resolutely put into effect the 'principle of three don'ts'--don't pick on people, don't put political labels on them and don't wield the stick in their faces." It goes without saying that this is an important policy designed to carry forward socialist democracy and protect the people's right to "freedom of speech."

No one can avoid a slip of the tongue. Because of different political backgrounds, different levels of political consciousness, and different working experiences, people may come up with different and even incorrect views on the same matter. This is why they should be allowed to express different and even incorrect views. If a person is allowed only to say correct things and is prohibited from saying anything that is incorrect, and if a person found guilty of a slip of the tongue is punished by threats to pick on him, to put political labels on him and to wield the stick in his face, this is tantamount to shutting his mouth and depriving him of the right to speak out. In the end, the world would be deprived of chirping birds and running water. To forestall this, we must persist in putting into effect the "principle of three don'ts" as an expression of our party's concern and love for comrades found guilty of a slip of the tongue in political life. But we have no reason to tolerate and condone misleading statements which negate and oppose the four basic principles. We should take different, appropriate measures to criticize those who have made misleading statements and carry out education or wage an ideological struggle if necessary. If such statements are allowed to prevail, they are bound to have a corrosive effect on the people's morale and a disruptive impact on stability and unity, and will lead erring comrades to move further and further away from the correct path. This is a matter which cannot be confused up with the "principle of three don'ts" designed by our party to condone comrades found guilty of a slip of the tongue, because they are two entirely different comrades found guilty of a slip of the tongue, because they are two entirely different things.

"Freedom of Speech" and "Common Language"

As stated earlier, the "freedom of speech" practiced within the framework of safeguarding the people's interests is not absolute in terms of "freedom." In other words, there must be a common language and a consensus on the people's interests as a matter of principle as well as on views that are consistent with the political line of the party Central Committee.

For example, China must show allegiance to the socialist road, the Communist Party's leadership, the people's democratic dictatorship, and Marxism-Leninism and Mao Zedong Thought. We must have a common language on such matters of principle. Otherwise, China would be like a pile of loose sand, and our socialist cause would face the danger of destruction halfway through. But on the premise of upholding principles, we must subject such matters as specific methods, strategy, and academic issues to open debate and we must let the people discuss basic principles and specific work simultaneously. Only in this way can we pool wisdom through discussions, consultations and study, and handle China's affairs well. This shows that both "debate" on specific issues and efforts to find a common language on matters of principle serve the same objective of upholding the people's interests.

"Common language" and "freedom of speech" are two opposing terms which can achieve dialectical unity and which complement each other. If the people are not persuaded to perform specific work within the framework of basic principles, and if they are allowed to go their own way and to speak their minds freely, their efforts to find a common language will become hopeless. On the other hand, if they do not speak a common language on matters of principle, if they are allowed to say anything they wish in violation of principle, or if they are even allowed to spread rumors and speculation, then centralism, discipline and principle will give way to disorder. This being the case, is there any "freedom of speech" in the true sense?

In a populous socialist country such as ours, it is extremely important to accompany "freedom of speech" with "common language" on matters of principle. Only in this way can we unify our thinking, clear the way for the implementation of the party's line, principles and policies, and create a lively political situation in which there is both centralism and democracy, both discipline and freedom, and both unity of wills and personal happiness.

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PARTY AND STATE

DISCIPLINES NEEDED FOR IDEOLOGICAL, POLITICAL WORK DISCUSSED

Harbin HEILONGJIANG RIBAO in Chinese 11 Nov 81 p 3

[Article by Shi Liangguang [4258 008] 0342]: "Sources of Knowledge Necessary To Put Ideological and Political Work on a Scientific Basis"]

[Text] To put ideological and political work on a scientific basis, it is necessary to acquire a corresponding theoretical basis. Man's thinking and action are conditioned and influenced by multiple conditions--social, natural and psychological--and the law of changes in man's thinking must be studied and the laws of ideological and political work explored with the aid of many-sided knowledge, for which Marxist dialectical materialism and historical materialism as well as psychology, ethics, esthetics, pedagogy, sociology, and political science are the elementary sources.

Marxism-Leninism-Mao Zedong Thought is the fundamental theoretical basis for putting ideological and political work on a scientific basis; without this guiding thought, it is not possible to form a new discipline of socialist ideological and political work. Marxism brought to light the laws governing the development of history and expounded the dialectical relationships between spirit and matter, between social consciousness and social being, affirming the dependence of ideology on the material world and pointing out the dynamic role played by ideology in the material world. The Marxist theory of knowledge brought to light the laws governing knowledge of development, providing us ideological and political researchers with scientific clues to the origin and changes in a person's thinking. To uphold and apply the Marxist tenets in carrying out ideological and political work is the basic skill required to put ideological and political work on a scientific basis. However, Marxist dialectical materialism and historical materialism merely point out the direction and road along which the ideological and political work is to be put on a scientific basis; to put ideological and political work on a scientific basis in practice, we need to draw on the elementary knowledge of other disciplines and the results of studies.

--Find out about the trends of a person's thinking with the aid of psychology. Psychology is the science dealing with a person's understanding, feelings, will, mental processes, ability, and traits; social psychology lays stress on the study of the psychological impact on a person of the social environment. Since the social occupation, living conditions, educational level and physiological characteristics vary with each person, naturally the thoughts, preferences, interests and demands of each are different, but a person's psychological activities--the process of knowledge, the process of feelings and the process of will--are governed by common laws.

Gaining an all-round knowledge of the different aspects of a person's psychological characteristics will help us to find out about the laws governing a person's ideological activities, and this constitutes the important content of ideological and political work. In particular, with the development of modern science and technology and the intensification of mental labor, a person's thinking activities become more complicated, making it all the more necessary to bring the person's social psychology into harmony with the characteristics of modern science and technology. Therefore, we should feel the pulse of the person's thinking with the aid of the general theory and principle of social psychology and, on the basis of the person's level of knowledge, predict motives, guide actions and bring ideological and political work to the depth of the person's soul,

--create a spiritual civilization with the aid of the principle of ethics. Ethics is the science dealing with morality. The moral principles in the Marxist system brought to light the essence of morality, its social role, and the laws of its development. Scientific ethics represents proletarian moral thinking and has a direct connection with the socialist spiritual civilization. Socialist spiritual civilization refers not only to science and culture but also embraces communist ideals, faith and morality. In order to create a socialist spiritual civilization, it is imperative to establish marriage and family morality, occupational morality, and social morality. Occupational morality is the main body of socialist morality; its basic requirement is being devoted to one's duty. Popularizing the special morality present within various occupations provides the motivation indispensable to achieving the four modernizations and is an important feature of reforming social customs and habits.

--Bring out the persuasive capacity of beauty with the aid of esthetics. Concerning beauty, people are influenced not by logical forms but by perceptual images and feelings in such a way as to make people subconsciously accept certain ideas. Ideological and political work is aimed at molding man's soul. Man's soul is not a collection of abstract thoughts, but the living embodiment of wisdom, feelings and morality, having flesh and blood. Esthetics helps to enrich people's emotions and cultivate a revolutionary life interest, preference, mental attitude and moral character. These are necessary prerequisites for success in fostering talent in a person. Applying the principle and method of esthetic education is an important means to raise the scientific level of ideological and political work.

--Study the laws of ideological education and develop a person's talent with the aid of the principles of teaching. The foundation for training talented persons to carry out the four modernizations is education. A talented person embodies a unity of thinking and talent. The talented person necessary to achieve the four modernizations must have not only high cultural, scientific and technological standards but also a high degree of socialist awareness. Therefore, strengthening and improving ideological and political work with the aid of education is a dependable way to tap human resources.

--Promote the democratization of ideological and political work with the aid of the principle of political science. After the birth of the state, political science deals mainly with the essence of the state, its elements, systems, and political system, and with the relations between the state and the people. At the present stage, the direct aim of political science is to open up all means of socialist democracy and achieve the best system of economic management on a scientific basis.

The fundamental tenet of the democratic political system revealed by political science is the core of the scientific method of ideological and political work, since only by democratization, that is, only by making the working people masters in the true sense of the word, can people's enthusiasm and creativeness be brought into play to the maximum in building socialism. In the final analysis, putting ideological and political work on a scientific basis is precisely aimed at bringing into play, stimulating and arousing people's enthusiasm for building socialism.

--In addition, it is necessary to bring into play the enthusiasm of the whole society with the aid of sociology.

If we want to go a step further and put ideological and political work on a scientific basis, we should and may have recourse to and draw on the results of studies in the disciplines mentioned above. There is no doubt about this. But these disciplines themselves cannot take the place of the discipline of ideological and political work. To study the above-mentioned disciplines does not constitute putting ideological and political work on a scientific basis. Ideological and political work is the fine tradition of our party and is our magic weapon for winning victory in revolution and construction. We have experience in protracted revolutionary struggle as well as positive and negative experiences accumulated over the past 32 years. We have fulfilled all conditions for drawing on the results of modern science and establishing a scientific system of ideological and political work under the guidance of Marxism and for applying it in the service of the four modernizations.

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PARTY AND STATE

ROLE OF CRITICISM, SELF-CRITICISM IN 'DOUBLE HUNDRED' POLICY DISCUSSED

Kunming YUNNAN RIBAO in Chinese 23 Oct 81 p 3

[Article by Wang Zhanfei [3769 1455 7378]: "Criticism and Self-criticism Are Vital to the 'Double-hundred' Policy"]

[Text] During the past several years, a debate has taken place over the "double-hundred" policy. For example, is it still necessary to develop criticism and self-criticism when the "double-hundred" policy is implemented and will the development of criticism and self-criticism adversely affect the implementation of this policy? A clear answer to this question will not be available until we achieve an understanding of the formulation of the "double-hundred" policy and its main purpose.

Comrade Mao Zedong pointed out: "The policy of letting a hundred flowers bloom and a hundred schools of thought contend was put forward in light of China's specific conditions, on the basis of the recognition that various kinds of contradictions still exist in our socialist society, and in response to the country's urgent need to speed up its economic and cultural development." This statement can be summarized into the following two key points: First, after the establishment of the socialist system in our country, we must put into effect the policy of "letting a hundred flowers bloom and a hundred schools of thought contend" on the scientific, cultural and artistic fronts with the aim of rapidly developing the economy and culture and building high levels of material and spiritual civilizations. As contributors to the building of the material and spiritual well-being, the masses of people in socialist society are masters of their own country. Opportunities should be provided for them to fully demonstrate their creative spirit in this respect. The "double-hundred" policy will afford the masses of people opportunities to fully display their creative spirit on the scientific, cultural and artistic fronts. Second, contradictions that exist in our socialist society, particularly those among the people, will certainly be reflected in the scientific, cultural and artistic fields. Only by correctly handling such contradictions can we make progress in science and art and make art blossom. Under the "double-hundred" policy, arts in different forms and styles are encouraged to develop freely, different schools of science can enjoy academic freedom, administrative measures are prohibited to impose one particular style of art or school of thought and to balk at another. This policy is also instrumental in developing democracy in areas of science and art, in resolving contradictions properly, and in inspiring

and stimulating vast numbers of scientists and artists to join the masses of people in actively carrying out scientific, cultural and scientific research work. This proves that the "double-hundred" policy is based on Marxist historical materialism and is aimed at accelerating the development of art and science under the socialist system.

In view of this, criticism and self-criticism are indispensable to the "double-hundred" policy. The execution of the "double-hundred" policy will become impossible without criticism and self-criticism; the denial of criticism and self-criticism will also render impotent the force for the development of science, culture and art and will even make it deviate from the correct course. Social ideology is a reflection of social existence. Confronted with myriads of objective things which change from time to time, people with different levels of knowledge, ideology and social experience will often come up with diverse conclusions on objective matters, which range from early to late reports, from in-depth study to superficial knowledge and from correct understandings to misjudgments. To distinguish right from wrong and truth from falsehood calls for criticism and discussion. Only in this way can we deepen our understanding, and push forward the development of science and art. At the same time, it can be said that art and scientific research cover an infinitely vast area of study. Apart from the decisive role played by the practical experiences, innate qualities, and professional levels of scientists and artists, the achievements and theories of their predecessors, and current views and trends of thought can also exercise an important influence on scientific and artistic experimentation. Therefore, it is inevitable and normal that some different schools of thought, different styles and viewpoints may appear on this front. None of them can remain unchanged. They must all go through a process of experimentation, exploration, and must be verified through practice before truth gradually takes shape and gains strength. Particularly noteworthy is the fact that artistic creations and scientific inventions result from a frustrated process of research. In this process, criticism and self-criticism can provide an indispensable impetus or stimulus. Criticism and self-criticism are specifically instrumental in: 1) spurring the growth of new things that show bright promise and in overcoming all forces that stand in the way of their development; 2) in inducing different schools of thought, and those pursuing different styles in art and holding different view to learn from each other and improve each other's knowledge, to overcome their weaknesses by learning from each other's strong points and to make progress; 3) in distinguishing what is right from what is wrong in areas of science and art, and in drawing a line between what is correct and what is erroneous, thus clearing the way for truth to triumph over falsehood. Historical facts show that the development of criticism and self-criticism proves instrumental in speeding up rather than impeding the implementation of the "double-hundred" policy and the growth of science and art.

In implementing the "double-hundred" policy and correctly launching criticism and self-criticism, the key is resolutely and correctly handling the contradictions among the people. In a certain sense, the "double-hundred" policy is also a policy for a correct handling of contradictions among the people in areas of science, culture and art. The implementation of this policy calls for upholding the principle of "unity-criticism-unity" and adopting the methods of discussion, persuasion and education instead of coercion and suppression in resolving

contradictions in areas of science, culture and art. Just as Comrade Mao Zedong once said: "We think that it is harmful to the growth of art and science if administrative measures are used to impose one particular style of art or school of thought and to ban another." During the 10 years of civil strife, we have learned a painful lesson. Under no circumstances can we afford to let history repeat itself. But this does not mean that the criticism of wrong ideas and viewpoints on science and art is no longer necessary. Letting erroneous works circulate without criticism is like letting weeds grow which adversely affect the growth of crops. In the end, they are bound to have an adverse impact on the development of socialist science and art and on the people's minds. Particularly noteworthy is the fact that when vast numbers of youngsters are in a stage of forming their world outlook, they need correct scientific theories as their guide and healthy literary and artistic works to groom their minds in a healthy way. If we allow some unhealthy literary and artistic works to uncontrollably affect them, the consequence is certain to be very serious. Our writers and artists must pay great attention to the effect their works may have on society. Only in this way can they make contributions to the development of socialist science, culture and art.

9574

CSO: 4005/235

PARTY AND STATE

FACE-TO-FACE CRITICISM AS MEANS OF UNITY DISCUSSED

Shijiazhuang HEBEI RIBAO in Chinese 28 Oct 81 p 4

[Article by Jia Qinghai [6328 3237 3189]: "Promote the Practice of Face-to-Face Criticism"]

[Text] The practice of face-to-face criticism is a good method for resolving contradictions among the people, for removing barriers between comrades, for correcting errors and mistakes, and for strengthening friendship and unity. It is also a way of thinking and an excellent style of work consistently promoted by our party.

In the course of carrying out work and daily activities, no one can avoid making mistakes of one kind or another. When such mistakes are discovered, pointed out and criticized by the individual's leaders or comrades in his presence, he should regard it as an expression of the deepest concern and love for him. Comrade Chen Yi said poetically: "Acceptance of help with a cheerful spirit will make friendship flow. Honest, candid friends who dare to criticize you in your presence are hard to find these days." The practice of face-to-face criticism will clear the way for everyone to hear directly the views of his critics, to enjoy timely and appropriate contact with them and to receive many other benefits. But some comrades have rejected this approach. When they see someone making a mistake, they choose not to point it out in his presence openly but to gossip and make a lot of noise behind his back. This approach is not a move in the direction of solving problems, but a step in the opposite direction of introducing new contradictions, undermining unity and hampering the process of work. Chairman Mao called "this form of irresponsible criticism behind people's backs" a reflection of liberalism and he pointed out: "Liberalism is a corrosive which jeopardizes unity, undermines cohesion, causes apathy, and foments dissension." "It is an extremely bad tendency."

Fearful of offending others, some selfish and cowardly comrades have refused to criticize certain unhealthy tendencies which should be criticized. Their attitude toward such tendencies is one of toleration, accommodation and appeasement. This is why the elimination of such unhealthy tendencies is still nowhere in sight. Some other comrades are keenly interested only in "cultivating flowers," but prefer to leave the job of "picking out thorny roses" to others. For example, they have been particularly "active" in providing relief to those comrades in distress and in relocating their homes, and have even gone so far as to do them unnecessary favors and pass on to them unnecessary information. But when they are asked to "pick out thorny roses," they become reluctant and silent. Practicing favoritism and acting as a good fellow in this way is not in keeping with the party's excellent tradition of criticism and self-criticism.

The practice of face-to-face criticism first of all calls for investigations and study and for upholding the principle of seeking truth from facts. Every problem should be presented in good faith. We should neither reduce major issues to minor ones and minor issues to naught, nor should we make a mountain out of a molehill and exaggerate the mistakes of others to the maximum. Only in this way can we do everything possible to develop criticism along sound lines. In practicing face-to-face criticism, we must stress the need to build the party for the interests of the people; we must reject the practice of favoritism and the temptation to cover up shortcomings. Anyone who makes mistakes should be dispassionately criticized by means of reasoning and persuasion. No personal animosity or grudges should be allowed to interfere with the process of criticism. At the same time, we must treat comrades being criticized with love, fairness and compassion so that we can unite and help them to move forward.

The great teacher Marx once said: Friendship needs sincerity to sow its seed, enthusiasm to irrigate its soil, principle to make it grow, and understanding to make it flourish. Every critic must bear the public interest in mind, while those being criticized must be broadminded, demonstrate the courage to acknowledge and correct mistakes, show gratitude upon being reminded of their errors, and "correct mistakes if they have committed them and guard against them if they have not." Only in this way can criticism achieve its intended objective and produce satisfactory results.

The practice of correct criticism is a weapon to strengthen the organization and fighting power of the party and a driving force behind our cause. In the course of overcoming the erroneous bourgeois laissez-faire tendency and other unhealthy trends, we must make conscientious efforts to restore and carry forward the party's excellent tradition of criticism and self-criticism, step up our study and improve our way of thinking. We must bravely pick up the weapon of criticism and self-criticism, enliven the spirit of daring to carry out face-to-face criticism, and strengthen the principle and militant character of political and ideological work as a contribution to the healthy development of various undertakings.

9574

CSO: 4005/314

PARTY AND STATE

JOINT IDEOLOGICAL REMOLDING, EMANCIPATION STRESSED

Yinchuan NINGXIA RIBAO in Chinese 29 Oct 81 p 3

[Article by Ye Mo [5509 1075]: "Ideological Emancipation and Ideological Remolding"]

[Text] How to correctly understand and handle the relationship between ideological emancipation and ideological remolding is a new issue that merits our attention on the ideological front at present. Some comrades are of the opinion that we can only talk about ideological emancipation today and not about ideological remolding; whoever mentions paying attention to ideological remolding is liable to be immediately branded "ultraleftist." This kind of understanding and feeling is entirely erroneous; it is beneficial neither to our personal advancement, nor to the launching of various projects in the new era, and should therefore be clarified as a matter of necessity.

Ever since the determination by the Third Plenary Session of the 11th Party Central Committee of the principle of emancipating our thinking, using our brains, seeking truth from facts, and uniting as one in looking forward to the future, despite the fact that the whole party and the people of the whole country have on their way toward our ideological emancipation broken through one taboo area after another and achieved considerable progress, and despite the fact that the flowers of ideological emancipation have also yielded abundant fruits on various fronts and thereby strongly consolidated and developed the political situation of stability and unity and promoted the readjustment and reform of the national economy and the development of various enterprises, somehow, ideological emancipation has still continued to suffer interference by erroneous ideas from the Left as well as from the Right. Some comrades who have been fairly constrained by leftist ideas or who cannot bear to part with their leftist mistakes are somewhat apprehensive about ideological emancipation or even regard it as a great scourge; there are also some comrades who take ideological emancipation as doing whatever one pleases or even equate it with bourgeois liberalization. These two groups of people have both failed to understand the real meaning of ideological emancipation and both erroneously put ideological emancipation and ideological remolding in opposition to each other.

Under the influence of leftist mistakes in the past, many comrades took Marxist-Leninist works and Comrade Mao Zedong's discourses as divine articles and dogmas to be followed blindly; this made it impossible for their own thinking to correctly reflect objective realities and thereby they became confused about the right and wrong in respect to many important theories, principles and policies, thus leading to a series of mishaps in their practice and bringing great losses to the undertakings of the party and the people. Directly in response to this situation, the Third Plenary

Session of the 11th Party Central Committee put forward the principle of emancipating our thinking and seeking truth from facts. The meaning of ideological emancipation is to make our ideas correspond to reality, our subjectivity to objectivity; it is seeking truth from facts; it is respecting objective laws and operating according to such objective laws. All erroneous ideas of the Left and the Right violate the principle of seeking truth from facts and are characterized by a separation of subjectivity from objectivity; they must be overcome and corrected in the process of our ideological emancipation.

In the history of our party, ideological emancipation and ideological remolding are often united together. For instance, opportunism and dogmatism as represented by Wang Ming for a long time constrained people's thinking; but after the rectification of Yan'an, Comrade Mao Zedong's idea that the universal truth of Marxism-Leninism must be united with the concrete practice of the Chinese revolution and his idea about seeking truth from facts and proceeding from the actual situation in everything further armed the whole party and enabled comrades of the whole party to forcefully overcome various nonproletarian ideas and liberate themselves from the constraints of opportunism, dogmatism and book worship. The rectification at Yan'an was both a great ideological emancipation movement and a profound ideological remolding movement. After the rectification at Yan'an, the Chinese revolution moved forward rapidly, and ultimately it overthrew the three great mountains and established New China. After the founding of our new state, our party paid a great deal of attention to taking care of the ideological remolding question; its purpose was no other than to help everybody discard various nonproletarian world views and establish a proletarian, communist world view. This process of ideological remolding was designed to defeat and overcome various erroneous ideas with regard to Marxism-Leninism and Mao Zedong Thought and to help people liberate themselves from the thinking systems of feudalism, imperialism, and capitalism and the constraints of the various prejudices and errors. It may be said that without an earnest ideological remolding, we would be unable to realize genuine ideological emancipation, unable to take the initiative in understanding and changing the world, and hence there would be no victory for our socialism cause.

In the past, because of the influence of leftist mistakes, especially the interference and sabotage of the Lin Biao and Jiang Qing counterrevolutionary cliques, ideological remolding became an important component of the expansion of class struggle and a pretext and means for the persecution of the vast ranks of the cadres and intellectuals. Consequently, even up to this day many comrades still experience loathing and fear when there is mention of paying attention to ideological remolding. There is an essential difference between the ideological remolding advocated by our party and the "ideological remolding" trumpeted by the Lin Biao and Jiang Qing counterrevolutionary cliques. The former is designed to give further scope to the role of the masses of people as masters of their own house and their creative spirit so that they can better understand and change the world and realize the cause of our four modernizations, whereas the latter basically aimed at strangling the enthusiasm and initiative on the part of the masses of people and attempted to turn the people into their obedient slaves. The former is designed to enlighten the consciousness of the masses of people and to be carried out through the study of Marxism-Leninism, close integration with reality, application of the weapon of criticism and self-criticism, and through active ideological struggle and the method of persuasion, whereas the latter was implemented by coercive methods detrimental to people's dignity and by reliance on cruel struggles and violent means. The former can improve people's political consciousness and ideological level and create a

lively political situation, so that people can devote themselves to the four modernizations with one heart and one mind, whereas the latter split the party, split the army, and sabotaged the great unity of the people of the whole country. We should strictly differentiate between these two, entirely discard the ultraleft stuff trotted out by Lin Biao and Jiang Qing, and adhere to the party's series of correct principles and methods for strengthening our ideological remolding.

If we only want ideological emancipation but forget about ideological remolding, it will often result that people simply proceed from one extreme to the other; individualism, departmentalism and anarchism are nurtured as a result, and the erroneous tendency of bourgeois liberalization also takes shape. Some people mistakenly think that doing whatever one pleases is emancipating our thinking. They pay no heed to the criticism advanced by leaders and the masses; they turn a deaf ear to party discipline and laws of the state, and do certain wrong things and stupid things that sadden their own people and gladden the enemy; and some even embark upon a criminal road. Such persons brag about being warriors and heroes of ideological emancipation, but actually they get themselves bogged down in the mud pit of the bourgeoisie without being able to retrieve themselves. Practice repeatedly proves that if we talk about ideological emancipation while rejecting ideological remolding, we will reap the opposite, as if trying to go south while driving our vehicle northward.

There is often this situation regarding ideological remolding and ideological emancipation in our real life: some comrades find their thinking liberated on this question, where their subjectivity and objectivity prove to be relatively consistent, but on some other questions their thinking proves by no means so liberated, and a fairly great gap exists between their subjectivity and objectivity; their understanding during one period proves to be relatively correct, but otherwise during another period; and they can adhere to principles on certain things, but are unable to do so on others. Therefore, we need to continue carrying out ideological remolding and continue realizing our ideological emancipation; we are never too old to learn, nor too old to remold our ideology. In order to demonstrate this, we must in the first place study--and in the present circumstances especially study well--the "Resolution" and unify our thinking with the spirit of the Sixth Plenary Session of the 11th Party Central Committee; in the second place, we must practice doing a good job at our work in a down-to-earth way and doing our best to have our own ideas and deeds correspond to objective reality; in the third place, we must unite with the masses and follow the mass line on all matters; and in the fourth place, we must correctly launch criticism and self-criticism and carry out active ideological struggles. In a word, we must consciously adhere to the four basic principles and unite ideological remolding with ideological emancipation; in this way we are bound to be able to advance our various undertakings.

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CSO: 4005/300

PARTY AND STATE

BUREAUCRACY THAT SPELLS INEFFICIENCY DENOUNCED

Fuzhou FUJIAN RIBAO in Chinese 15 Oct 81 p 2

[Article by Ren Weimin [0117 3634 3046]: "Official 'Tendencies to Write Long Circulars' Should Be Curbed"]

[Text] A reading of Comrade Hu Qiaomu's [5170 0829 2606] article entitled "It Can Be Further Shortened!" has led me to deeply believe that it is absolutely necessary to "curb the practice of prolix writing and to encourage brevity."

At present, it can be said that "this tendency to put out long official circulars" has become an epidemic. Not only newspaper articles and official "circulars" but also leading comrades' speeches, reports and summing-up addresses as well as documents, circulars and briefs have been too long. For example, a forum on strengthening the management of enterprises in the countryside held by a certain unit spent a full day going over a leading comrade's report. The "brief no 1" issued by a certain bureau covered 7 pages and more than 4,000 words. The phrase "under the guidance of a certain leadership" was repeated over a dozen times in a report summing up achievements by a commune for the first half of this year. Many such speeches, documents and briefs were repetitions of other documents. They have been disseminated as "circulars." If you disregard them, you may feel that something is missing. But if you go over them, you will be disappointed. Preoccupation with writing has tied up a large number of government staffers and has wasted manpower, financial, and material resources. This "tendency to write long circulars" has reached proportions that should be stopped. Office cadres at higher and lower levels should be mobilized to do something so that "the tendency to write long circulars can be curbed and the writing of briefs can be encouraged," so something really solid can be accomplished. Leading cadres should take the lead in "cutting their long speeches short" and should take the initiative in drafting documents and briefs that are really concise and that can really help solve problems. If this can be done, the official tendency to write long circulars can certainly be stopped. As soon as this tendency is halted, much of the energy now being wasted by government staffers can be saved and job efficiency can be greatly improved.

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CSO: 4005/282

PARTY AND STATE

CHINESE LAW IS PUBLIC LAW, NOT PRIVATE LAW

Beijing GUANGMING RIBAO in Chinese 24 Nov 81 p 3

[Article by Wang Suiqi [3769 6659 6386]: "Why Do We Say That Our Country's Civil Law Is Public Law and Not Private Law?"]

[Text] In capitalist countries there is a distinction between public law and private law. Civil law in capitalist countries is termed private law. This is because of the fact that during the period when capitalism was on the rise the propertied class, in order to oppose feudal rule, emphasized the "freedom of the individual's will"; once the state no longer concerned itself with relationships in the private sector of the economy or with personal relationships, civil law was then termed private law. However, in the wake of the development of capitalism, by the time the imperialist stage had been reached, the state political power of the propertied class was actually interfering more and more with private economic relationships and personal relationships; for this reason, what was originally termed private law possessed the characteristics of public law. At present in capitalist countries it is already in fact quite difficult to distinguish between public law and private law.

We are a socialist country in which a socialist system of public ownership of the means of production is in effect, and all civil activities such as production, allocation and exchanges must be directed by state economic planning. All civil activity that is in violation of state economic plans or state laws and decrees must be checked by the state. For this reason, we do not accept the viewpoint that civil law is private law. Lenin, in "On the Task of the People's Judicial Commission Under the Conditions of the New Economic Policy," emphatically pointed out that: "We do not accept any 'private' thing; from our point of view, everything in the area of economics is within the scope of public law, and is not something private." Lenin's exposition is based on the principles of socialism, which are the main guiding principles for us to use in understanding this question.

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CSO: 4005/270

PARTY AND STATE

IMPORTANCE OF TRAINING, PROMOTING YOUNG TO MIDDLE-AGED CADRES

Harbin XUE LILUN [STUDY THEORY] in Chinese No 9, 1981 p 8

[Article by Feng Zhongyi [7458 1813 5030]: "The Training and Promotion of Outstanding Young and Middle-aged Cadres Is Our Top Priority"]

[Text] The active training and promotion of young and middle-aged cadres and replenishing all levels of leading bodies with them is a pressing strategic task that has been established for us by the party's Sixth Plenum in order to adapt to the needs of the new situation. Practice has proven that only if we consider this work to be an urgent task, get a good hold on it and do a good job of it will it be advantageous for the building of the Four Modernizations and the development of all areas of work.

Since the party's Third Plenum, judging from the work situation of the 132 middle-aged and young cadres trained and promoted in the enterprises subordinate to the Municipal Second Bureau of Light Industries, it is clear that the results of the prompt promotion of outstanding middle-aged and young cadres to leading posts have been good. At the metal watchband factory, for example, over a period of seven to eight years the average age of leading bodies was comparatively high. Some old comrades were enthusiastic in their work, willingly bore the burden of their jobs, and got a great deal accomplished and yet, due to their age and lack of robustness, and also to their being used to the old set of managerial methods, they caused their enterprise's profits for four consecutive years to hover around 200,000 yuan, with watchband production fluctuating around 600,000; after putting into effect a readjustment and replenishment of the leading bodies, their average age was lowered to 39.3 years. Among them, 40 outstanding middle-aged cadres were promoted to take on the post of party branch secretary, and young cadres of 28 who understood technical matters were allowed to serve as assistant factory directors. The leading bodies following the readjustment were filled with youthful vigor, bore hardships and endured hard work, were bold in making innovations and introducing advanced technology, and reformed managerial methods, causing all of this factory's economic indicators to be greatly improved, so that in 1980 1,836,000 watchbands were produced, with an output value reaching 4.01 million yuan, yielding a profit of 750,000 yuan. The number of models and designs was also increased; their quality was singled out for praise by the Ministry of Light Industry; and the products found a ready market in 28 provincial capitals, all this constituting a heartening transformation for them "from one factory to three factories." A reduction of 10 years in the average age of a leading body, accompanied by a

threefold increase in economic results, is very convincing. And, in another example, there is the Xirguang Arts and Crafts Factory, where formerly the average age of leading bodies was 54.8, with 4 persons above 57 years of age. In October of 1980, a factory director was democratically elected, with Xue Baolun, director and accountant of the Provincial and Municipal Enterprises' Management Institute, taking on the post of factory director, and two cadres possessing specialized professional knowledge, one young and one middle-aged, serving as assistant factory directors. After the readjustment of the leading body, the enterprise went through a great transformation, so that in the first half of this year the output value of products completed was 22 percent higher, and profits 12.5 percent higher, than that of the same period last year, thus realizing the completion of more than half of their allotted task within the assigned time. At the same time, with respect to economic reforms, this year this factory also put into effect a collective, open-ended piecework system for factory groups and teams, a floating wage system for cadres within the factory and an overall system of economic accounting, and made progress in setting up and perfecting a system of economic responsibility, thus furthering the development of production.

Practice has proven that if only we heighten our understanding, liberate our thinking, and boldly train and promote outstanding middle-aged and young cadres, and allow them, with the assistance of older cadres, to bring their effect into full play, they definitely will be able to make a positive contribution toward the Four Modernizations.

However, compared with the requirements of the party's Central Committee, the present leading bodies of some of the units subordinate to our office are still not capable of adapting completely to the needs of the Four Modernizations; there are still large disparities, one concrete manifestation of which is the problem of leading bodies being too old and having too low a cultural level. Among 122 cadres at department level and above, the oldest is 67, and the average age 52.37 years. Another is that there are too many leading cadres, and that the structure of the leading bodies is unreasonable. If, for example, in a single enterprise there are three secretaries and three factory directors, then, due to the fact that there are too many cadres, the allocations will not be coordinated and production leadership is not forceful enough, having a negative effect on the development of production. A third is that there is too little specialized professional talent. Among 1,196 leading personnel in the various enterprises, there are only 42 engineering and technical cadres.

In order to solve this problem as quickly as possible, we are in the process of selecting a series of feasible, practicable measures: one is to send selected reserve cadres to attend rotational training classes and second light industry cadre schools; another is to launch lecture courses on professional knowledge, raising the professional level of the reserve cadres; a third is to select 77 comrades from among the engineering and technical cadres and appoint them to leading bodies; a fourth is to select cadres from among technical and vocational middle school and university graduates and outstanding workers. Although these jobs have only just begun to be done, we are nevertheless confident that if only we persevere in doing things this way, then a great number of cadres who are capable of answering the needs of the Four Modernizations, possess real knowledge and talent, and

who possess both virtue and ability will stand before us, bringing their vast effectiveness into full play. We hope that the various ranks of our leading cadres, particularly old cadres, will all be able to take a strategic view in looking upon and dealing with this important problem that is crucial to the success or failure of the great enterprise of the Four Modernizations.

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CSO: 4005/270

PARTY AND STATE

TENDENCY TO THINK INDEPENDENTLY OF PARTY LEADERSHIP REPUDIATED

Fuzhou FUJIAN RIBAO in Chinese 15 Oct 81 p 3

[Article by Chen Yin [7115 5593]: "The Positive and Negative Aspects of Independent Thinking"]

[Text] At a time when the tendency of bourgeois liberalization is being criticized, I consider it absolutely necessary to distinguish between the positive and negative aspects of independent thinking.

Our party is a proletarian political party devoted to upholding the truth of dialectical materialism and historical materialism. The party does not want its members and non-party elements to have blind faith in certain things and to act slavishly and subserviently. What it considers desirable is self-sacrifice and conscious revolutionary action in the name of truth. Therefore, individuals are allowed to think independently. The process of thinking independently is also considered something absolutely necessary.

In search for truth, one must think independently. In the quest for truth, one may also unavoidably cast doubts on some existing concepts and formulas. There will be no new discoveries or new breakthroughs in science if we are devoid of skepticism. But, in the final analysis, skepticism itself is not truth. Truth which has been verified by the people through practice should be allowed to stand until sufficient facts and data are made available to disprove it. Otherwise, skepticism remains wild, nonscientific conjectures.

Since it is called skepticism, it smacks of errors. Experiences gained by the masses through practice must be recognized and objective facts must be evaluated by comrades conscious of party character and interested in science so that they can constantly overcome their skepticism and rectify their prejudices. Therefore, it can be said that thinking independently does not mean a gross disregard of practice by the masses and of objective facts.

Thinking independently is absolutely necessary and significant in that it can help rectify the theory, line, principles and policies of the party distorted by Lin Biao and the "gang of four," bringing order out of chaos and eliminating confusion at its source. It can also help devise a better way from a realistic point of

view to deal with the new situation and solve new problems resulting from the development of the Four Modernizations program. Practice has proved that to attain this aim calls for the correct leadership of the party. This is why we say thinking independently does not mean a disregard of the leadership of the party.

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CSO: 4005/282

PARTY AND STATE

TACTICS OF CRITICISM THAT EMPHASIZES PERSUASION, REASONING DISCUSSED

Chengdu SICHUAN RIBAO in Chinese 21 Oct 81 p 3

[Article by Tian Gang [3944 4993]: "Sincere Criticism Should Also Sound Pleasant to the Ears"]

[Text] "Good medicine is bitter, but effective against the illness; sincere criticism may offend the ear, but it will have a positive effect on behavior." This ancient admonition has been frequently used by some people to enlighten those who have been criticized. To anyone who has been criticized, this ancient admonition is certainly significant in that it can help him reflect upon himself, adopt a correct attitude toward criticism from others, and persuade him not to turn deaf ears to unpleasant but sincere criticism. On the other hand, from the standpoint of a critic, does he think that it will become more effective if he can prescribe some effective and sweet medicine as well as sincere and pleasant advice for his patients? When a certain medicine is prescribed to cure a certain disease, one must first consider whether the patient can take it. Before sincere criticism which will have a positive effect on behavior is offered, one must also think whether it is acceptable to one's intended audience. Suppose your patient is a man with a weak and easily-turned stomach, and suppose he cannot take what you consider to be valid but bitter medicine but would regurgitate it whenever he takes it. Is it not then true that this medicine is useless to him, no matter how good it is? Likewise, if your correct criticism is too unpleasant and too irritating to the ears of its target and therefore is ignored by him, what effect will your criticism have on his behavior?

During the period of Warring States, Chuzhe Po [6051 6242 7324] of the State of Zhao knew the art of criticism well. At a critical moment in the surprise attack mounted by the savage State of Qin against the State of Zhao, the State of Zhao asked the State of Qi for assistance. The State of Qi pledged to come to the aid of the State of Zhao, if the latter could turn over Prince Changan to it as a hostage. This condition was rejected by the Queen of the State of Zhao because Prince Changan was her favorite and adorable youngest son. Then senior officials of the State of Zhao took turns giving her a series of unpleasant advice. Since it was so unpleasant to her ears, she ignored it and said angrily: "If anyone says anything more about delivering Prince Changan as a hostage, I will spit in his face!" At that time, if anyone still insisted on giving her sincere but unpleasant advice, he could expect nothing but to have his face spit on. But deputy

commander-in-chief Chuzhe took a different approach. When he met the Queen, he said nothing about the subject of "a hostage to the State of Qi." Instead, he talked about cuisine, daily life and the way to longevity, as well as some other things that sounded pleasant to her ears. In this manner, he quickly made the "sullen Queen feel relaxed." Then, he followed a roundabout approach by requesting her to allow his youngest son to become a royal attendant at her palace. This change of topic started the Queen talking about the way children should be raised, which provided Chuzhe with an opportunity to explicitly explain from historical experiences and lessons how "parents should love their children from a long-range point of view," and to indirectly convey to her the reason why Prince Changan should be delivered to the State of Qi as a hostage. In the end, the Queen was convinced and pleased to accept his recommendation. This lesson teaches us that sincere criticism is not necessarily unpleasant, and that if sincere criticism is pleasant to the ears of the intended listener, it is likely to be more fruitful than otherwise.

Before sincere criticism pleasant to the ears of an intended listener is given, the critic should first study and understand the listener's state of mind. Furthermore, he must think that if he himself were put in a position of his listener, what would his own emotional reaction be and what should not be said, etc. Only in this way can the critic figure out an appropriate approach to criticism and achieve his intended objective without risking a deadlock or showdown. Particularly noteworthy is the fact that if a leader can pay attention to "unpleasant as well as pleasant criticism," he certainly can gain the trust of the people and popularity, and can produce good results in developing ideological and educational work.

I have to emphasize that we must pay attention to the methods and effects of criticism and encourage sincere criticism that is pleasant to the ears, and that we must do so without sacrificing principle and disgracing party character. Only in this way can we better develop criticism and self-criticism. Let me quote a popular saying: "We must be round in appearance and square at heart." Although such words as "How are you? You are great!" also sound pleasant to the ears, they are aimed at covering up contradictions without taking into account principle. Not only can we not encourage such talk, we should also repudiate it.

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CSO: 4005/282

PARTY AND STATE

CHINA SKIPPED CAPITALIST STAGE OF DEVELOPMENT ON ROAD TO SOCIALISM

Nanjing XINHUA RIBAO [NEW CHINA DAILY] in Chinese 10 Nov 81 p 3

[Article by Liu Yu [0491 6877]: "Was New China's Entering a Socialist Society Before the Developed Capitalist Countries Did a Deviation from Scientific Socialism?"]

[Text] In previous times, there have been people in society who have believed that socialist revolution could not have been carried out without our country's having gone through the capitalist stage of development. Even if it was carried out, it was not scientific socialism but some kind of "agricultural socialism." This presents us with an important theoretical question: Did China's entering a socialist society prior to developed capitalist countries deviate from scientific socialism, or did it develop scientific socialism? To clarify this question, we need to conduct observation and think deeply about what actually occurred in history.

First, we must unite the universal and special laws of humanity's historical development for observation. According to the universal laws of humanity's historical development, the replacement of social forms is carried out in proper order. Socialism is the result of the clash of capitalism's basic contradiction (namely, the contradiction between socialized mass production and private ownership). In other words, socialism is an even higher social form than capitalism, and it will replace capitalism under the conditions of capitalism's withering away. Regarded as the most universal law, this is naturally and without a doubt correct. However, we cannot stress only universal laws to the neglect of the particularities of each country's historical development. Marx has said that history advanced windingly and in leaps. Lenin has also pointed out that "The universal laws of the world's historical development not only do not in the slightest exclude the specific characteristics, in form or sequence of development, displayed in specific developmental stages, but regard this as a prerequisite." The proletarian revolution, "while changing the directions of the particularities of the countries of the East, also brought some local, new things." In fact, the precedent of a country skipping a certain stage in development to enter directly an even higher social formation is certainly not unique in the history of the development of human societies. Germany entered a feudal society without having gone through a slave society. America entered a capitalist society without having gone through a feudal society. Such being the case, what is so strange about an

economically and culturally backward, semi-colonial, semi-feudal country such as China not having gone through the stage of the full development of capitalism but having entered a socialist society? This just rightly explains that in the practice of socialism we, this backward great nation of the East, have "brought some local, new things." On the contrary, that point of view which holds that socialist society cannot be entered into without undergoing the stage of capitalist development has been lost in the fog of mechanical materialism.

Secondly, it was also basically not possible for semi-colonial, semi-feudal old China, encircled by world capitalism, to establish an independent capitalist society. After the defeat of the Opium War of 1840, many advanced Chinese people turned toward the West, seeking the truth to save the country and the people, and thinking that capitalism would develop in China. The result was a dead end! Since imperialism battered on the colonies and semi-colonies, they were certainly unwilling to lose China, this supply base for raw materials and market for dumping commodities, and they also certainly would not have permitted China to establish an independent capitalist society. China's large capitalist class was the vassal of imperialism, and it too would not have tolerated the development of national capitalism. Due to their political and economical weaknesses, it was also basically not possible for the national bourgeoisie to change China into an independent capitalist society. As a result, those people who had desired to first develop capitalism in China and then afterwards to carry out socialist revolution inevitably had to travel down a blind alley.

Third, the Chinese revolution was one part of the world proletarian revolution, and its future could only have been socialism. The salvoes of the October Revolution brought Marxism to China, and from then on the Chinese revolution took on an entirely new look. Under the leadership of the CCP the Chinese people underwent a struggle of extreme hardships and difficulties. At long last they overthrew the three great enemies, achieved the victory of the new democratic revolution, and established New China. China after the victory of the new democratic revolution could only have taken the socialist road, and certainly ought not to have allowed the liberated Chinese people to be thrown again into the miserably abyss of capitalism. Such being the case, did our country at that time have the conditions for the transition to socialism? In the report to the Second Assembly of the Communist International Lenin pointed out that under certain conditions a backward country could skip the capitalist stage of development in the transition to socialism. These conditions are: One, there must be leadership of a Marxist-Leninist political party; two, there must be a Soviet system; three, there must be definite international aid. After the victory of the new democratic revolution, our country had these conditions. We had time-tested CCP leadership, and the party leadership achieved the fundamental guarantees of socialism. We established the state power of the people's democratic dictatorship. Moreover, we confiscated the capital of the bureaucrat-capitalist class and controlled the economic lifelines of the country. We received aid from the Soviet Union of the Stalin era and from other friendly nations. This successfully achieved for our country the favorable political and economic conditions for the transformation from a new democratic society to a socialist society.

Finally, we need to treat correctly the economic prerequisites for the establishment of a socialist society. It is common knowledge that Marx and Engels predicted that socialism would occur simultaneously and be victorious first in principal developed capitalist countries. However, they did not rule out nations being able to carry out socialist revolution in which capitalism was not yet fully developed, and furthermore they did not stipulate how large the proportion should be for socialized mass production before being able to carry out socialist revolution. In the article "Fate Nongmin Wenti" [Issues of French and German Peasants], Engels pointed out that it was not necessary to await the full development of capitalism and the total bankruptcy of small-scale production before realizing socialism. Lenin, when he criticized the fallacy of the Mensheviks' lifeless, inflexible dogma in which it was believed that if productive forces were not developed, political power could not have been seized to practice socialism, pointed out that "Since in establishing socialism a definite cultural level is needed...why can't we first use revolutionary means to obtain this prerequisite of a definite level, and then later, on the basis of workers' and peasants' political power, catch up with the people of other countries?" How much more so, then, for semi-colonial, semi-feudal China, which was not completely devoid of a material base, and where capitalism had developed to a certain degree. By comparison with those capitalist countries in which Marx and Engels at that time predicted socialism would first emerge, the level of productive forces at the time our country had basically achieved the socialist transformation of the private ownership of the means of production was by no means lower than that of the capitalist countries of that period. Since Marx and Engels predicted that they could have brought about socialism, why could not we have achieved socialism rather than "agricultural socialism"? Even though all sorts of complications have arisen in our country's practice of socialism, nevertheless this is really the great practice of socialism. Any doubt or denial of the standpoint of this practice is mistaken.

In brief, socialism, in the course of its realization, can inevitably display different characteristics, depending on the actual situation of each country. Therefore, our understanding of socialism is that we cannot fully and rigidly adhere to the original theses of Marx and Engels. The reason why our country was able to enter a socialist society before the developed capitalist countries did was the result of our Party's mutually combining the universal tenets of Marxism-Leninism with China's national situation. This is the enrichment and development of scientific socialism.

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MILITARY AND PUBLIC SECURITY

MINISTER CALLS FOR FURTHER EFFORTS TO IMPROVE PUBLIC ORDER

Beijing BANYUETAN [SEMIMONTHLY TALKS] in Chinese No 21, 1981 pp 3, 5

[Article by Minister of Public Security Zhao Cangbi: "Make Persistent Efforts To Strive for Further Improvement in Public Order"]

[Text] Public order has a bearing on the overall situation in carrying out the four modernizations in stability and unity, and it is an important matter of universal concern to the broad masses of people.

Since the 3d Plenary Session of the 11th CCP Central Committee, there has emerged in our country a good situation, politically and economically seldom seen since the founding of the state. A stable, united, lively political situation is being consolidated and developed daily, and public order in the great number of cities and villages is also improving daily.

The party Central Committee, NPC Standing Committee, and State Council have paid full attention to the question of public order, and over the past several years they have issued a series of important directives and decisions. Under the leadership of the party and government, people's public security organizations at all levels have always grasped as their central task the rectification of public order. In order to consolidate the people's democratic dictatorship, to safeguard stability and unity, and to insure the construction of the four modernizations, they have made unremitting efforts and obtained great successes. Since the beginning of this year, based on the spirit of the December 1980 Central Work Conference and the May 1981 forum on public order in the five major cities, and in accordance with the June 1981 legal document No 3 of the NPC Standing Committee entitled "Decisions on Handling Criminals Undergoing Reform Through Labor and Personnel Being Educated Through Labor Who Had Escaped From Detention or Who Are Repeat Offenders," the whole body of public security cadres and policemen, together with the departments concerned and relying on the masses of people, have strengthened the detection and cracking of criminal cases, the prevention of crime, and reform through education and labor, thereby dealing a further heavy blow to criminals. The broad masses of people have cooperated actively with the public security organizations in safeguarding public order by apprehending lawbreakers and criminals and by providing clues to crimes. One by one criminals have given themselves up to the police, confessed and been treated leniently; many criminals being reformed through labor, and personnel being educated through labor who had escaped have voluntarily returned or been sent back by the heads of their

households to the place of reform. Public order in many cities and market towns and along railroad lines have markedly improved. In areas such as Sichuan which suffered catastrophic flood disasters, public feeling is stable and public order good, and a gratifying drop in the number of disputes and criminal cases among the masses has emerged, thus demonstrating the incomparable superiority of the socialist system.

In the work of rectifying public order, we will firmly carry out the general and specific policies of the central authorities to deal with the complex situation of public order problems and criminals elements, and strictly handle things according to law. With regard to the extremely small number of murderers, robbers, rapists, and criminal demolitionists as well as other active criminals who seriously harm public order, the policy of meting out, according to law, heavy and swift punishment is carried out. With regard to persons who voluntarily give themselves up to the police and confess to their illegal and criminal acts, or who report and expose to the authorities crimes committed by other persons, the policy of "leniency after confession" and "atonement by good deeds" is carried out according to the law, with some of these persons being punished lightly and others being exempt from criminal sanctions. With regard to the great number of youngsters who have committed minor crimes, we should rely mainly on the party and the forces of society in carrying out the policy of changing by persuading, educating, and rescuing them, and, as much as possible, entrusting their homes, units, or neighborhoods with the on-site task of helping and educating them. With regard to those persons who are being reformed or educated through labor, or who have been sent to work-study schools or juvenile discipline centers, the policy of "education and reform first and production second" is adhered to; and with regard to those persons whose behavior after being reformed is fairly good, the policy of non-recrimination and nondiscrimination when assigning them to school or work is carried out. This series of correct general and specific policies has dealt a blow to the arrogance of criminals and supported the just demands and struggle of the masses of people, and has punished the tiny minority and split up, disintegrated, and educated the great majority.

While results have been obtained in rectifying public order, we must see that, at present, our country's public order has not fundamentally taken a turn for the better. In some places, criminal cases of theft, robbery, rape, and murder still occur; smuggling, speculation and profiteering, and mass gambling, and the practice of feudal superstitious activities, are still very serious; and there are many cases of an intensification of contradictions among the people owing to their not being handled properly. In our society, there still are counterrevolutionaries, enemy agents, and criminals, and we must exercise control over these lawless elements. The current problem in public order is a reflection of the problems of society; it is a reflection of the protracted existence, within a definite scope, of class struggle; and it has a very close relationship with the damage done by Lin Biao and the "gang of four" to the party's style and to the atmosphere of society, and to the degeneracy of the bourgeois mentality and the pernicious influence of feudalism. Therefore, to achieve good public order is a formidable and complex task.

How can we strive for a further improvement in public order? The key is, under the unified leadership of the party committee, to set in motion the entire party so that party organizations and the people's government at all levels grasp public

order, and pay particular attention to the organization of the departments of propaganda, organization, education, trade, unions, youth, women, and politics and law to cooperate closely in strengthening political, economic, educational, and cultural work, and conscientiously implementing the policy of "comprehensive administration."

If we make a big effort to strengthen political and ideological work, launch the activities of the "five stresses and four points of beauty," build a highly socialist spiritual civilization, and have a good party style and social atmosphere, then in society the great majority of people will consciously safeguard the social order, strive for ethical habits, and abide by discipline and obey the law, thereby fundamentally preventing or reducing the number of crimes.

Public security organizations at all levels must display the power of the instruments of dictatorship and their own functions, taking the initiative to coordinate each department concerned in conscientiously engaging in comprehensive administration. In using methods of dictatorship, force should be concentrated on detecting and cracking big and important cases, dealing blows with concentrated force on criminals, firmly ferreting out criminals who are steeped in iniquity or who do great harm, quashing their arrogance, and supporting the masses of people in their struggle against crime. The public security organizations must closely cooperate with the procuratorates and the law courts in correctly implementing policies and strictly handling affairs according to the law.

The broad masses of people want firmly to struggle against all criminals. This is the power and obligation vested in every citizen by the Constitution and the law. In the struggle to safeguard public order, heroic model individuals, who gallantly rose to the occasion and who were brave and resourceful, have emerged in large numbers. This vividly shows that the masses of people are truly an iron bastion, and that if everybody will only shoulder the common responsibility and dare to impose discipline and to struggle, the small number of black sheep who disturb public order are bound to be isolated.

We must do a good job of helping and educating youngsters who have broken the law. The method to be adopted is for the unit to be responsible for its staff and workers, the school for its students, the neighborhood for the youth in society, and the parents for their children. We must set up "help and education" groups, which will carry out measures of help and education, in the manner of parents treating a child who has contracted an infectious disease, a doctor treating a patient, and a teacher treating a pupil, enthusiastically patiently, and painstakingly educating, persuading, and rescuing them, training them to become new-type persons with lofty ideals and ethics and to become persons capable of constructing the four modernizations.

We must do a good job of guarding public order so as actively to prevent crime. First of all, we must strengthen education in the legal system and do extensive work in publicizing it, continually improving the consciousness of the broad masses of people in observing discipline and obeying the law. At the same time, we must confiscate lethal weapons used in criminal acts, carry out well the joint defense of public order, and layer by layer set up and perfect the various forms of the public order responsibility system. We must continue to rectify

public order in public places, along railroad lines, and in rural markets. We must strengthen the work of residents' committees, public security committees, and mediation committees; keeping abreast of the situation in public order; timely discover and curb crime; and prevent the sharpening of contradictions among the people.

We have the superior socialist system, the party Central Committee's general and specific policies for solving the problem of public order, and have a socialist legal system that is being perfected and strengthened daily. Our party's style and the atmosphere of society is taking a turn for the better. If only we courageously conquer difficulties, are good at summing up experiences, making unremitting efforts, and advance on the crest of victory, the goal of effecting a fundamental turn for the better in public order can be reached.

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MILITARY AND PUBLIC SECURITY

CRITICISM, SELF-CRITICISM IMPROVES REGIMENT OF SHANGHAI GARRISON

Shanghai JIEFANG RIBAO in Chinese 31 Oct 81 p 1

[Article by Cheng Dongqian [4453 2639 6197]: "Conscientiously Rectifying the Thinking and Work Style of Cadres"]

[Text] Editor's note: Criticism and self-criticism is one of our party's three main work styles, and is also an effective weapon of ours for rectifying thinking, arousing the spirit, strengthening unity, and acting in a unified way. During the 10 years of internal disorder, our party's fine traditions were damaged and there were serious consequences that have not been thoroughly eradicated to this day, consequences which have caused slackness and weakness in some departments, units, and leaders, so that they do not dare to commend or criticize bad, unhealthy trends, evil practices are not curbed, and violations of law and discipline are not dealt with earnestly. The report published today of how the party committee of a certain regiment of the Shanghai Garrison Command actively launched criticism and self-criticism, conscientiously rectified the cadres' thinking, and made great efforts to arouse the revolutionary spirit, is an important revelation to us. We hope that all the departments and units in which similar situations exist will, as did this regimental party committee, actively launch criticism and self-criticism, boldly and with assurance commend good persons and good things, correct unhealthy tendencies, help sustain a healthy atmosphere, and combat evil trends, thereby arousing the spirit of the great number of the cadres and masses so that in every line of work there can be a new look and the cause of socialism will be propelled forward without letup.

The party committee of a certain regiment of the Shanghai Garrison Command, taking as its guide the "resolution" of the 6th Plenary Session of the 11th CCP Central Committee and the spirit of the central forum on problems on the ideological front, earnestly rectified the cadres' thinking, actively launched criticism and self-criticism, and corrected harmful practices. At the same time, it made great efforts to commend good people and good things, help sustain a healthy atmosphere, impel the cadres forward, and arouse the revolutionary spirit.

In the first half of this year, in this regiment there occurred some troublesome incidents and there existed some unhealthy tendencies, which were criticized by the higher level. Through investigation and study, the regimental party committee found that the crux of the problem was that the spirit of the cadre ranks was not aroused, and decided to carry out ideological rectification. In August, it held two meetings of all the regiment's cadres at which seven cadres who had committed mistakes were criticized by name and four cadres who had neglected their duty at work, violated discipline, or committed serious mistakes were punished. In the latter part of September, the party committee concentrated its time on delivering party lectures to cadres at the platoon level and above on the work "On Launching Criticism and Self-Criticism," organized everybody to study conscientiously Comrade Mao Zedong's relevant works, and launched discussion on questions such as that centering on how to handle correctly the relationship between the individual's interests and the revolution's interests. Many cadres closely integrated this discussion with their own ideological reality, and actively launched criticism and self-criticism. The party committee also stressed criticism and help in regard to 2 companies and 5 cadres who had manifested many problems.

While criticizing bad practices, the regimental party committee made a great effort to help sustain a healthy atmosphere and to commend the advanced. It set up as examples 13 model cadres who are selfless, diligent in work, dedicated and responsible and who do not seek fame and gain, and publicized their deeds. The clear demarcation of rewards and punishments greatly stirred up the thinking of cadres who had shortcomings or who had committed mistakes, and the majority of the cadres received a profound education, which braced their spirits and encouraged their zeal.

The change in the cadres' spirit has brought a changed look to the unit. All the officers and men of the regiment are united, morale is high, discipline is strict, and there are fewer troublesome incidents. The advanced companies have ascended to an even higher level, and the three formerly backward companies have made progress. The 10 companies in which there were formerly fairly many problems are now obtaining excellent results in civil and military training and are marching into the advanced ranks.

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PLA GENERAL HOSPITAL MOVES TO INSURE CONTINUING EXPERTISE

Beijing RENMIN RIBAO in Chinese 10 Dec 81 p 3

[Article by Ma Jihong [7456 4949 4767] et al: "PLA General Hospital Actively Trains Middle-Aged and Young Technical Cadres"]

[Text] Since 1978, the PLA General Hospital has grasped as a strategic task the training of middle aged and young technical cadres, formulated plans and taken measures that have raised the professional level of these cadres and has taken the first steps in changing the phenomenon of the hospital's technical forces not being coordinated.

The PLA General Hospital has fairly many veteran specialists and well known professors, and its technical forces are comparatively strong. However, throughout the 10 years of turmoil the professional expertise of its middle aged and young cadres could not keep up with the times, and the specialists and professors have become older and frailer, their average age is now 66 and above. An urgent task facing the hospital is how to transmit the medical expertise of the older generation to specialists and professors so that there will be successors to replace them. At the beginning of 1979, a professor of orthopedics suddenly passed away, thereby halting for a time lectures in orthopedics. This incident made the hospital's party committee further understand the importance of training the contingent of middle aged and young cadres.

The PLA General Hospital selected 30 of 97 cadres who had graduated from college in the period from just after liberation to 1958 to be technical successors, and, adopting the method of apprenticing them to the specialists, provided on the job training for them; selected 46 of over 160 cadres who had graduated from college in the period from 1959 to 1968 as the key objects of training and, based on their characteristics, carried out directed development of them; and, after recommendation and testing, selected 33 cadres who had graduated during the Great Cultural Revolution for a 1½-year period of after-work instruction so that they will catch up in their professional expertise as rapidly as possible.

The hospital's party committee also, on the basis of investigation and research, in 10 aspects including training plans, ideological education, foreign language training, and study and work environment, proposed specific measures for the training of middle aged and young cadres. Over the past 3 years, the hospital has sent 15 middle aged and young technical cadres abroad for study, and has organized 187 instances of study suited to the individual's training at fraternal units.

Many of the veteran specialists and well known professors consider the training of middle aged and young technical cadres to be their unshirkable responsibility, and earnestly practice what they advocate. Huang Daxian [7806 1129 7341], director of the heart and kidney department, provides each batch of technical cadres with specific training plans and directed goals. Jiang Sichang [1203 3123 7022], director of the ear, nose, and throat department, personally arranged for five of his middle aged deputy directors to contact local hospitals and together with them participated in scientific interchange with the hospitals. During an operation he often lets a middle aged cadre perform the main surgery and is content to be an assistant.

In a period of over 3 years, the PLA General Hospital already has 27 of the originally picked 30 middle aged technical successors in the posts of assistant professors or deputy directors and military surgeons; the 46 persons selected as the objects of key training have attained the anticipated goals and have become important backbone elements in their own special fields of medical scientific research; and the 33 persons selected for after-work instruction have taken 29 regular examinations in which the average score attained was 88.7 points. In 1980, the hospital had 381 of its academic papers printed in publications of various kinds. Of these 381 papers, 283 were written by middle aged technical cadres and 159 of the 283 were written by persons who had been the objects of key training. The middle aged technical cadres played an important role in the hospital's 27 experiments for which it obtained awards for results in scientific research.

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WRITERS URGED TO FOCUS MORE ON TRAINING THEME

Beijing JIEFANGJUN WENYI [PLA LITERATURE AND ART] in Chinese No 11, 1981 p 110

[Article by Deng Bin [6772 2430]: "Attach Importance To Portraying Training Life"]

[Text] Recently I read in the August issue of JIEFANGJUN WENYI an exciting piece of reportage entitled "Blue Army Commander" about a "blue army commander," Wang Qusheng [3769 5112 3932], who acts dynamically on the training ground. This piece of reportage on the theme of training, selects a particular angle from which to report on the deeds of an "enemy army" commander (in reality, a soldier leading the way in the modernization and construction of his unit) who could not put up with the backward training method of "using one's own tactics against one's own tactics," and who with determination studied intensively the military art, thus introducing to the readers a man who tries with all his might to build up his unit. Look, other soldiers considered the "viewing of the Soviet film 'Liberation' as torture, having to bring their own food and sit at one stretch for 8 hours, so that, with all the airplanes, cannons, and tanks, their heads felt as if they were about to burst! Ordinarily, Wang Qusheng did not watch films. 'Boy chases girl, boy gets girl, and that's that!' But he was crazy about military films, and he saw 'Liberation' 4 times--4 times 8 is 32, a total of neither more nor less than 32 hours." The "Polish Corridor," the "French border," the "Kremlin," and other backward and vulnerable scenes from a tactical standpoint continually flashed through his mind.... The author wrote vividly and with accuracy and feeling about this outstanding military commander, who is courageous and insightful, full of serious thoughts, and full of vitality and energy. This is truly a rare piece of reportage.

Most recently, in the works of literature and art that portray life in military units, there have been comparatively many about couples deeply in love and comparatively few about the new people who have gone through training and emerged in the construction of modernization in their units. Training is fast becoming a theme nobody cares to ask about. Actually, training is the principal and greater part of life in the units. Its richness of source materials, complexity of changes, and colorfulness of scene are far greater than other themes. Especially now, the continual changes in the roles of commanders at all levels, the continual development of weapons and equipment, and the continual strengthening of the coordinated training of all service arms makes new reforms necessary in both the form and content of our training and new breakthroughs necessary in the depth and breadth of training. A large-scale military exercise recently held at a certain place in north China further unfolded broad prospects for modernized training and indicated that our army's training has entered a new stage. Literary and art creations should keep abreast of this

situation, and like the "Blue Army Commander" and some other works written about training, report to readers the new people and new things in training. The great number of officers and men earnestly long to read these kinds of good works.

If they want to write well about training, they must be very familiar with it. Familiarity is a premise for creation. We should see that certain authors, although they wish to portray training, frequently, because they are unfamiliar with and do not understand the subject matter, feel that there is no scope for their talents or they just write as best they can about it, and because they are unable correctly to portray the subject matter people lose their appetite for it. If, like the two authors of "Blue Army Commander," who, because of their going to training grounds for long periods of time and conscientiously studying and mastering the military knowledge pertaining to modernized training, they would not only be able to get a firm grasp on the characteristic of our army's entire training process but they would also be familiar with some specific knowledge pertaining to tactics and technology and also to military science, and then they would not be writing as laymen. Some plots and details will be written without hurry and will bear no traces of revision. With regard to some rich ancient and modern, Chinese and foreign examples, they will seem thoroughly familiar, will be picked up without extra trouble, and will be appropriately applied. We believe that if only our writers are willing to learn and study hard, they can certainly master the theme of training and also can certainly write well about it!

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SOCIOLOGICAL, EDUCATION AND CULTURE

SPECIAL COURSES FOR CADRES SET UP IN HEILONGJIANG COLLEGES

Harbin HEILONGJIANG RIBAO in Chinese 13 Nov 81 p 1

[Article by Liang Baode [4731 1405 1795]: "Young Cadres in Heilongjiang Enrolled in Specialized Courses"]

[Text] By early November, 318 young cadres at the county department level and above and exceptional young cadres have been enrolled in special courses for cadres at Harbin Normal University, Harbin Architectural Engineering College, Harbin Electrical Engineering College, Heilongjiang University, Heilongjiang College of Commerce, and Heilongjiang 1 August Farm Reclamation University. They have entered a life of intense study.

Special courses for cadres at institutes of higher learning have been set up in accordance with the decision of the provincial committee to train cadres. It has been decided to set up such specialities as culture-education, commerce, agriculture, forestry, industry-communications, and architectural management at nine institutes of higher learning, including Harbin Normal University, and to recruit leading cadres at county department level and above and exceptional young cadres for 2-year systematic study. The special courses for cadres at six higher learning institutes, including Harbin Normal University, began the school terms in September and October. Preparatory work has been completed to set up special courses for cadres at Harbin Industrial University, Northeast College of Forestry, and Northeast College of Agriculture, and their school term will begin in March next year.

This group of students attending special courses come from corresponding organizations of culture-education, industry-communications, planning, and building construction. After making personal application through recommendation by their organizations and taking a unified examination, they have been selected and accepted. Their characteristics in common are: young age, cultural foundation of secondary middle school, certain practical experience, support for the lines and policies laid down since the Third Plenum, enthusiasm for work, and eagerness to learn and make progress. While in school they will study 10 to 20 courses--13 at least and 21 at most--totaling 2,000 study hours. At the conclusion of their course of study they will take school examinations and, upon passing, will be issued diplomas of college special courses. They will go back to their original units to work on the principle of "directional training, directional use."

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SOCIOLOGICAL, EDUCATION AND CULTURE

NEED FOR COMPLETE TRUTHFULNESS IN REPORTAGE STRESSED

Beijing RENMIN RIBAO in Chinese 18 Nov 81 p 5

[Article by Gu Xiang [7357 7534]: "Truthfulness Is the Lifeline of Reportage"]

[Text] After the smashing of the "gang of four," reportage as the "light cavalry" upon the literary front is enjoying the limelight of the Third Plenary Session of the 11th Party Central Committee and is forging ahead with satisfaction. Yet, on the one hand, it occasionally encounters some unreasonable blame in society as it develops, causing certain difficulties for the writing and publishing of reportage; on the other hand, the material in some works of reportage on real people and events lacks truthfulness, causing a negative effect and a weakening of the social role of reportage. Seeking the cause in ourselves and making demands of our writers of reportage for the sake of its proper development, we must arouse sufficient attention to the question of truthfulness in reportage.

Truthfulness is a fundamental theoretical question in reportage work, and it is relatively complex and thorny. Following the growth of reportage, it has been raised for discussion time after time, at home and abroad. In terms of principle, it seems that no one opposes truth in reportage. However, opinions diverge on the artistic process for the source material of works whose objects of depiction are real people and events. The focus of dissent centers on the reportage about real people and events and on whether "fabrication" is allowed in such works. There have always been two ways of thinking on this. One holds that reportage "cannot contain any fabrication." The other holds that "some fabrication," "limited fabrication," or "suitable fabrication" is allowable. I incline toward the former and oppose the latter view. Works of reportage on real people and events, as the noted Soviet special writer Polevo said, has "a precise address." The people and events written about are real people and events. Not only do they demand the truth of the age and of the art possessed by literary works in general, but they also pay particular attention to the accuracy and truthfulness of material on which the depiction of people and events is based. They reject the attributing of something to the wrong person or the substituting of one thing for another, and they do not allow fabrication or falsification. Reportage on real people and events has its ideological power and its unique artistic charm, in that the people and events praised and revealed by the works are believed to be completely true and have occurred in our everyday life without fabrication. This artistic power cannot be substituted by novels. If the reader suddenly discovers that the writer is deliberately mystifying and falsifying in his works and that the reader has been deceived, then the writer's ideological and emotional appeal in his warm praise of new events or his angry castigation of dark forces will be weakened

and his evaluation of life will not be convincing. Thus, strict adherence to truthfulness guards the life of reportage. If we permit fabrication in reportage that carries real names, we will be leaving room for fabrication, and it will be to no avail even if we declare that this fabrication is "limited," "slight," or "suitable." Moreover, the line limiting fabrication is actually difficult to be drawn clearly. I therefore agree with this view: To safeguard the uniqueness of truthfulness in reportage, it is better to reject fabrication and to seal off all doors leading to it.

It does not harm for us to study and observe that although successful works of reportage must have distinct and lively artistic forms, and correct and profound ideological substance, without exception they are based on irrefutable and unmistakable facts and are completely truthful, and may even possess the value of true historical sources which give them renown. John Reed writes in his "Ten Days That Shook the World": "With regard to the sources of this book, by necessity I have limited myself to the use of actual accounts of historical events which I have personally observed or experienced as well as to those reliable bits of evidence which can sufficiently prove them to be true records." Precisely because he "gave a true and unusually vivid description of the early days of the raging and violent October Revolution, he was able to provide a full, accurate, and credible historical account on 'what the proletarian revolution was and what the extremely significant events of the proletarian dictatorship were.'" (Lenin) At the beginning of the great turning point of the Chinese Revolution, Edgar Snow's "Red Snow over China" gives a correct record and explanation, an objective and partial report on the extreme struggle by the communists in their arduous environment, "accurately revealing the appropriateness of the Chinese revolutionary movement" so that the people of the world may "have a brandnew concept of China's character." (Edgar Snow) Despite the author's statement in his preface of 1938 that "this book must absolutely not be treated as a formal or legitimate source," and despite the limitations by the conditions of collecting and writing at the time, some material was hearsay that had passed through many hands, and unavoidably some parts may not have been true. However, "as a record of history," as the American Sinologist John Fairbank comments in his writings of the 1960's: "This book has stood the test of time."

Why is there such disagreement with regard to understanding whether reportage on real people and events should achieve complete truthfulness and on the question of whether fabrication is permissible? The problem seems to lie in the confidence in the special characteristics of reportage. A unique literary form, reportage goes from the world of news to the realm of literature and has the dual nature of news and literature. True, reportage cannot satisfy the true record of real people and events but demands full use of images in the works. Certain works of reportage at present indeed lack literary character, are not particular about artistic conception, and do not pay attention to the portrayal of characters. Their composition is dull, their language is difficult, and they lack the artistic appeal that tugs at the heart-strings of the people. In general, lack of literary character, lack of artistic appeal, and treatment of reportage as news reporting negate the existence of reportage. This is one aspect that needs attention in creative works. In another aspect, what needs even more attention is the lack of understanding and confidence in the news character that such a literary form should have. I think it is here that the error of the argument that reportage can fabricate occurs. Indeed, reportage is a variety of literature and not literary news. But since real names of people are indicated in the works and real events are pointed out, then the works must be subject to

the same truthfulness as news. This is the "uniqueness" of the unique literary form of reportage. As reportage, such [works] should also possess literary truthfulness, a true whole, and a true self similar to novels and other works in general. As reportage, they should also possess special truthfulness and material that is strictly true, unlike novels. The people and events in novels can be synthesized and fabricated and must be fabricated, for without fabrication there would be no novel. Only this kind of fabrication is fair, reasonable, and possible in life. Such a tacit mutual understanding is reached between the novelist and the reader. This is not the case for reportage. Between the writer of reportage and the reader there is a kind of tacit understanding in which the writer declares that everything that is depicted in his work is genuine, and the reader believes it to be without deceit. If the writer ever damages this understanding, is it not clear what the artistic result of reportage will be? We can put it this way: If we say that without fabrication there would be no novel, then to permit fabrication will inevitably abolish reportage of real people and events.

What also needs to be mentioned is that the works of some writers who do not explicitly advocate the necessity of fabrication in reportage still suffer inconsistency with the facts. This is often due to their lacking an attitude of carefulness and precision--and attitude that a proletarian journalist should have. It may be due to carelessness in collecting and writing; when the source material is found to be insufficient during the artistic process these [writers] fabricate in order to bridge the gaps and make the plot vivid and complete. It may also be due to their rush in collecting and writing and their failure to check the truthfulness of source material, resulting in the passing on of wrong information. Ultimately, it is related to a conscious or unconscious deviation in understanding the news character of reportage and the truthfulness of news which reportage should have.

Does advocating that reportage must scrupulously abide by truthful news and that it does not allow fabrication restrict the use of the artistic medium to express life or even halt the artistic process? (Some comrades feel that in the artistic process of reportage, fabrication "is an unavoidable link.") I do not think so. The rejection of fabrication seems to narrow the scope of the ability of reportage, which becomes not as free as the writing of a novel. Actually, the artistic expression of reportage has its strong points. In reportage, narration can be interspersed with comments, enabling the writer to speak out directly and to state his own subjective comments at the same time that he depicts objective events and images. We must realize that in the means of artistic expression of real life, all artistic forms have their own strong and weak points as well as their limitations. Compare novels and dramas. It is a strong point of novels that they are not restricted by time and space and that their scope is broad. Yet dramas can synthesize all kinds of artistic media and can directly appeal to the hearing and sight of the audience. This is what the "language art" of novels cannot achieve, and it is a strong point of dramatic art. As the saying goes: Without rules there are no circumferences. Writers of reportage should consciously accept the rule against fabrication, which must be applied to reportage. They should recognize this limit and put on their best performances on this stage of action. Actually, it is possible to perform one's best, as has already been done on this stage. Magnificent colors have appeared within the scope of our reportage. The works of Liu Pinyan [0491 6333 7159] dare to touch on significant social contradictions, and his political comments are forceful. The works of Li You [3810 3945] give a refreshing portrayal of personalities,

and his use of the techniques of the novel is unique. The works of Huang Zongying [7806 1350 5391] are simple and plain, fresh and natural. The works of Ke Yan [2688 1484] are rich in poetic flavor, tactful and profound in sentiment. Who can say that emphasis on the truthfulness of news will hinder the competition for excellence in reportage?

What also needs to be pointed out is that the realm of artistic expression of reportage is not small because it rejects fabrication but does not reject artistic imagination. On the basis of strictness in being truthful, for people and events, the depiction of their environment, heightening of the atmosphere, the portrayal of the mental activities of people, imagination can and should be exercised. If not, it would be hard to sublimate life into art. Writers and critics of reportage agree with this. Mao Dun [5403 4163] believed that reportage "should permit writers to exercise their imagination--of course, this imagination must be fair and reasonable." The Czech reportage writer (Ji-si) said that writers of reportage must have "an imagination that accords with logic" and "the fantasies of lyric poetry." Polevoy did not deny that in reportage "the author can add his own imagination." Artistic imagination is based on characters who truly exist in life and events that have occurred. It also aims at artistic reproduction of reality in life. Artistic imagination and fabrication should be differentiated and not confused. Confusing the two concepts, some comrades use the inevitability of imagination to prove the necessity for fabrication. This is not acceptable.

Finally, it is necessary to state once more that reportage is not merely of one type. The above discussion is restricted to reportage on real people and events. With regard to reportage on people who are generalized on the basis of real life and whose real names are not used, another discussion will be necessary.

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CS0: 4005/256

SOCIOLOGICAL, EDUCATION AND CULTURE

FORUM STRESSES IMPORTANCE OF JOB ASSIGNMENT FOR GRADUATES

Beijing GUANGMING RIBAO in Chinese 22 Nov 81 p 1

[Report by Lou Huguang [2869 3337 0342]: "Some Comrades in Charge of Assigning Jobs for College Graduates Exchange Experiences, Conduct Work Impartially, and Handle Job Assignments for Graduates Properly"]

[Text] During the recently convened national conference on job allocation for college graduates, some comrades in charge of and involved in assigning jobs for graduates held a forum to exchange experiences and information on the conditions of firm resistance against unhealthy tendencies. They indicated that in assigning jobs for graduates this year, they must conduct their work impartially, practice no favoritism, allow no backdoor influence, and resolutely carry out the relevant policies of the party.

The comrades who attended the forum said: This year's graduates are the first group of undergraduates centrally assigned under the nation's unified enrollment system after the smashing of the "gang of four" and the reform of the enrollment system. Proper handling of job assignments for this year's graduates is very important. It will have a significant effect on job assignments for future college students. Everyone believed that resistance against unhealthy tendencies that interfere with the assignment of jobs is an important link in correctly implementing the party's assignment policy and properly performing this task.

Everyone at the forum presented his experience in adhering to principles in assigning jobs and resisting unhealthy tendencies. A comrade from the Ministry of Posts and Telecommunications said that since April they had received informal notes and correspondence demanding preferential treatment through all kinds of relationships. To deal with this situation, the ministry has formulated a principle, according to the party's policies and the actual difficulties of graduates whereby consideration is given to those who should be considered and none is given to those who should not. Moreover, several related stipulations were made. Zhang Xiadao [1728 6667 6670] of the personnel department of Nanjing University said: Nanjing University has formulated a work discipline in assigning jobs for graduates, which stipulates that the general and specific state policies on assignment and assignment plans must be firmly implemented; units cannot engage in their own "local policies"; all graduates are to be treated equally, the children of leading cadres at all levels and the children of the masses are to be treated equally, and children of the school's staff workers as well as other graduates are to be treated equally; personnel who participate in assigning jobs for graduates are not allowed to promise rewards, give warnings and pass on informal notes, or disclose information regarding, the assignment of jobs,

and they are strictly forbidden to accept gifts and bribes. A comrade in the bureau of higher education, Sichuan Province, presented the work experience of assigning jobs during this summer vacation for graduates who enrolled in 1977. He pointed out that leading cadres must take the lead in resisting unhealthy tendencies. Teachers of the senior training class of the College of Education in Leshan Prefecture were unanimous in adhering to principles and withstanding the unreasonable demand by the leader of a certain bureau that youngsters be assigned to national defense factories in municipal areas. In selecting teachers to stay on at the school, the Jiangjin Teacher Training College used severe standards in selecting talented persons, consulted the views of teachers, and was perfectly impartial.

The comrades who attended the forum hoped that leading cadres at all levels would take the lead in carrying out the party's policies and would not interfere in the work of assigning jobs for graduates. They also demanded that the party's discipline inspection departments support those cadres who dare to resist unhealthy tendencies.

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COLLEGE GRADUATES URGED TO ACCEPT ASSIGNED JOBS

Beijing GUANGMING RIBAO in Chinese 24 Nov 81 p 1

[Report by Lou Huguang [2869 3337 0342]: "Responsible Person in Ministry of Education Speaks Out on Conditions and Policies of Assigning Jobs for College Graduates; Acceptance of Assigned Job Is a Rule for Every Graduate"]

[Text] During the national conference on job allocation for college graduates, a responsible person in the Ministry of Education spoke out on the basic conditions and related policy problems of assigning jobs for graduates this year. The substance of the talk is as follows:

This year there are over 279,000 graduates from schools of higher learning throughout the country, over 84,000 of whom graduated from professional training schools, were assigned to jobs during the summer vacation, and have taken up their work posts. There are still over 190,000 who will graduate this winter vacation, over 170,000 of whom will be the first undergraduates to graduate after the revival of the unified enrollment system.

Assigning jobs for graduates requires earnest implementation of the principle of matching learning and application. We must firmly adhere to this principle in assigning jobs in professions where demand exceeds supply or where supply and demand are basically in balance. Jobs in professions which are relatively in surplus should be assigned to similar professions as far as possible. However, it is still somewhat difficult at present to match learning and application for all professions and all graduates. The understanding of matching learning and application cannot be too narrow. College graduates who become high school teachers and engage in education work close to their disciplines should not consider that what they have learned is unsuited to application. In terms of quality of allocation, we must pay attention to increasing emphasis as well as consider the needs of units in general. In assigning jobs for graduates, the needs of the state must come first. Assignment plans must be formulated according to the needs of the construction of the four modernizations. Within the scope of assignment plans, we should insofar as possible, help to resolve those special problems which must be resolved and which can be resolved, in order to reflect the party's and government's concern and care for graduates. However, we cannot be too lenient toward the unreasonable demands of some people. Even if some demands are reasonable, we still need to consider feasibility. We cannot ignore feasibility and put undue emphasis on giving consideration to difficulties.

Because many of this year's graduates are older, are earning wages, are married, and were enrolled from where the schools are located, and because ideological work in the past few years has been weak, assigning jobs for graduates at this time is bound to encounter some difficulties. Everyone, including graduates, must share these difficulties. To assign jobs properly, we must first vigorously strengthen ideological and political work and increase the socialist consciousness of graduates in accepting jobs assigned. It should be a rule for every graduate to answer the call of the motherland and to accept jobs assigned by the state. Communist Party members and Communist Youth League members among the graduates should take the lead in carrying forward the revolutionary spirit of perfect impartiality, putting other people's interests ahead of one's own, and being the first to bear hardships. Not only must graduates personally accomplish this ideological work, but they must also conduct extensive propaganda among students, parents, and society to create public opinion. To successfully carry out the assignment of jobs for this year's graduates, we must resist unhealthy tendencies that interfere with the assignment of jobs for college graduates. The Ministry of Education has therefore put forward six measures and demands, and some provinces, municipalities, autonomous regions, and schools have formulated specific stipulations. These demands and stipulations should be carried out in earnest.

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SOCIOLOGICAL, EDUCATION AND CULTURE

WRITERS URGED TO PLUNGE INTO LIFE

Harbin HEILONGJIANG RIBAO in Chinese 1 Sep 81 p 3

[Article by Zhong Shan [6045 1472]: "Writers Must Plunge into the Thick of Life"]

[Text] Writers should get in step with the times, they should reflect the new contradictions in life, they should write works that the people love. For them not to plunge into the thick of life, not to plunge into the masses, not to plunge into the fiery struggle on the industrial, agricultural and other fronts, is absolutely impossible. The creative practice of a great many writers proves this point. We are not talking about remote things here, just take the films "Xiyang Gate" and "Laughter on Moonlight Bay." The main characters and the plots of these films seem just like the ones we encounter in life and make people feel that are so in tune with reality. If the writers of these two works had not lived in the countryside, and had not understood the people and things in the countryside, they probably could not have written such good works. Similarly, the two pingju, "The People's Police Thief" (retitled "She Came from the Mist" in the film) by Comrade Liu Yan [0491 3508] of the Harbin City Pingju Troupe and "Mother-in-law, Daughter-in-law" by Comrade Lu Zhenqun [7120 2973 5028] of Jixi City, were performed 700 or 800 times within Heilongjiang and by many troupes outside the province as well. If these two playwrights had not had a profound understanding of the education of youth and family morality, they could not have written such plays as these.

However, a short time ago, some people did not have such a high regard for writers going down. Some writers rarely did go down, but sat in their rooms and wrote without regard for life conditions, relying on newspapers for their information. As a result, the works they wrote are not of high quality and people do not like to read them.

The reasons why few writers go down are very varied. There is the question of leadership. The leadership of some units will not arrange the time for writers to go. There is the question of expenses. In some units there is a shortage of funds so it is difficult to provide travel expenses and this has held writers back. These questions should be given serious consideration by the relevant sections and be resolved as quickly as possible.

Another important reason is the writer himself. Some writers think that since they went before, they do not have to go now. This way of thinking is clearly wrong because things are constantly changing. Since the 3rd Plenary Session of the 11th Meeting of the Central Committee of the CCP, on all of China's fronts, especially on the agricultural front, there have been enormous changes. Most recently, the Heilongjiang Branch of the Drama Association organized some playwrights to go to several rural areas for short periods of study and visiting. They saw and heard the new persons, new things and new changes in the countryside, and saw the speed with which the peasants had become well-off, which was something they could not have even imagined before they went down. Many among them had lived in the countryside before, but on going down this time they had new intense feelings which shows that in plunging into life you cannot rest on your laurels and is not something which needs be done only once. You should constantly understand new situations and master and accumulate new creative materials.

Of course, when going down writers cannot be forced into regularity or uniformity. It should be based on differences in the writer's background, his creative needs and his physical condition. Some can stay in grass-roots areas to help improve work and gain firsthand experience, some can move around, some can take on concurrent tasks, others cannot. In sum, for a writer to go down demands some practical results and should not be just form, but should truly consider ideologically the resolution of the question of the sole source of creativity, so as to facilitate the creation of many better works, and satisfy the demands of the masses for literary and art works to serve building socialist spiritual culture.

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SOCIOLOGICAL, EDUCATION AND CULTURE

SHANXI ARTS CONFERENCE MAKES PLANS FOR 1982

Taiyuan SHANXI RIBAO in Chinese 22 Aug 81 p 1

[Article: "Launch Literature and Art Criticism, Promote Flourishing of Art; Provincial Bureau of Culture Convenes Conference on Creative Materials Program"]

[Text] Recently, the provincial Bureau of Culture convened a Conference on Drama, Music, Folk Art and Dance Creation. The comrades who attended the conference discussed the creative materials program for 1982 and studied some important questions facing creative work today.

Altogether 60 persons attended the conference: bureau chiefs and deputy bureau chiefs from local and municipal bureaus of culture, key workers and responsible comrades from drama troupes from cities in Shanxi and cooperating associations. Jia Jun [6328 0193], secretary of the Shanxi CCP Committee, gave a speech at the conference. Everyone emphasized research and discussion of two questions:

One was to discuss the important questions which exist in creative work guiding thinking and creative work. The comrades conscientiously studied and discussed the documents of the 6th Plenary Session of the 11th Central Committee of the CCP and uniformly accepted that the "Historical Resolution" affirmed the historical position of Comrade Mao Zedong and the guiding role of Mao Zedong Thought; Chairman Mao's "Talks at the Yan'an Forum on Literature and Art" is a guiding principle for our artistic creation. In the spirit of the 6th Plenary Session of the 11th Meeting of the Central Committee of the CCP, everyone summarized the lessons of experience in creative work. They recognized that the important question today in artistic creative work is that "leftist" thinking is still hindering the flourishing of creative work and is manifested in that when examining play scripts, some leadership comrades do not carry out their tasks with great attention to artistic rules and sometimes identify classic artistic images in the works with the actual local situation and for various reasons will not allow the play to be performed; there are also many leaders who are lax and weak and unable to launch normal criticism and self criticism, who do not dare to make their views known when they run into a problem and thus create confusion when a play is performed. Some drama troupes which, for purely economic reasons, performed plays whose ideological content was not healthy or even harmful seemed to have some trend toward "freedomizing." The second question discussed was the creative materials program. Creative materials

are chosen by the writer himself. Before the meeting localities and cities got together with the writers and on the basis of the materials which the writer had set up discussed these materials and formulated a creative materials program for 1982. The localities and cities made an organized and "plunge into life" arrangement of the key materials for creative work. Through reports, discussions and exchanges, the conference revised the program and assigned the task of creative work to specific individuals.

To help writers understand present social conditions, the conference invited concerned comrades from the Provincial Women's Federation, the provincial Young Communist League and the Political Section of provincial rural work to tell the conference about the women and children work, the developing situation of rural system of agricultural responsibility and the ideological situation among contemporary youth.

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SOCIOLOGICAL, EDUCATION AND CULTURE

FREEDOM FOR ARTISTS TO WORK ENCOURAGED

Shenyang LIAONING RIBAO in Chinese 18 Aug 81 p 4

[Article by Su Zhen [5685 4176]: "Heaven Is High Enough for Birds to Fly"]

[Text] People often use the expression "a bird startled by the mere twang of a bowstring" to portray the feelings of insecurity of literary and art workers. For many years now, under the influence of the leftist mistakes and the frequent political movements, literary and art workers have borne the brunt, been hit the most and have received the most severe wounds, so as soon as there is the slightest disturbance, they "have lingering fears." This is understandable and deserves sympathy, too. Remember a couple of years ago, an important leadership comrade from the provincial Party Committee said something to the effect that to resolve this question, we cannot look only at the "bird," i.e., the literary and art workers, but should also emphasize the "bow," i.e., resolve questions of the Party's guiding thinking. This shows very sound judgment.

Since the smashing of the "gang of four," especially since the 3rd Plenary Session of the 11th Party Central Committee, our Party has resolved conscientiously the questions in guiding thinking, has corrected resolutely leftist errors and carried out a series of tasks to bring order out of chaos. In the realm of literature and art, after the 3rd Plenary Session of the 11th Party Central Committee, we continued to delve into criticism of the black line of dictatorship in literature and art and re-emphasized the direction of the "double hundreds"; we launched discussions of the question of the standard of truth proposed, liberating thinking and smashing forbidden zones in theory and creativity; we reaffirmed and upheld the four basic principles so that the ideological liberation movement would follow the healthy line of development of seeking truth from facts; we rectified literature and art slogans to make the relationship between literature and art and politics more scientific and so that the path of literary and art creativity would be broader; we resolutely implemented the policy of opening channels of communication and upheld the practice of literary and art criticism, determining artistic right and wrong through seeking truth from facts and the scientific evaluation of works of art; we implemented the Party's policy toward intellectuals and clearly affirmed that intellectuals, along with workers and peasants, were the strength on which socialism depends. All these actions were to further set to right the direction of literary and art work and to implement guarantees that

people would have the freedom to carry out artistic work and artistic criticism, to create an atmosphere most conducive to the flourishing of literature and art, to fully mobilize the initiative and creativity of the broad literary and art workers and to develop a socialist literature and art which was beneficial to the people.

We should fully affirm the evident achievements of literary and art work and should soberly look at the various erroneous trends which exist. How should we deal with these erroneous trends? This should be resolved through a healthy literature and art criticism. Criticism and self-criticism is a motive force of socialist modernization and it is a motive force of socialist literary and art development. In the past our main mistake in the realm of literature and art was being overzealous in struggle and, as a result, we went in the opposite direction which led to people being both unwilling to engage in self-criticism and not daring to launch criticism. We should certainly correct this unhealthy tendency.

Some people have turned legitimate criticism into a club and this is very wrong. We advocate launching criticism which seeks truth from facts, restrained persuasion, and is helpful to the person criticized. This kind of criticism is not a club, but a good medicine; it is not intended to stifle the life of literature and art, but to make it develop in a healthy way. Those who create should not be afraid and even less should they resist this kind of criticism. The Party is upholding the three nots policy of not bludgeoning, not attaching labels and not seizing on someone's mistakes and will not permit bludgeoning, punishing and engaging in political activity falsely in the name of criticism; and will not permit making false accusations and exaggerated criticism of works of literature and art and turning writers into counterrevolutionaries at will. We should firmly believe that in guiding thinking, the Party Central Committee, in completing the mission of setting things to right, will not take the past road again and commit past errors again.

"Let a hundred flowers bloom, let a hundred schools of thought contend" is the only correct direction to develop socialist literature and art. The "double hundred" should take the four basic principles as its guide and the flourishing of socialist literature and art as its goal. All works and erroneous viewpoints which go against the four basic principles should undergo stern and persuasive criticism: this is the appropriate significance of the "double hundred" direction; letting it flow unchecked and carrying out another "three nots" policy of not making known one's position, not criticizing, and not struggling can only help the trend toward bourgeois freedoms. We should work hard both for creative freedom and for critical freedom; both for freedom to criticize and for freedom to discuss; through a hundred schools of thought contending in criticism a hundred flowers should bloom in creative work so that "literature and art can advance together with criticism." (Lu Xun)

The "Historical Resolution" passed by the 6th Plenary Session of the 11th Party Central Committee put forth the historical mission of building a socialist material civilization and spiritual civilization. In his "July 1" speech, Comrade Hu Yaobang again used the metaphor of climbing Mount Tai to spur us on. To mount to the "Peak of the Jade Emperor" on Mount Tai one must make the effort to go through the three 18 bends. To climb the new peaks of literature and art one must make

the effort to get through the passes of life, thought and artistry. To get through these three passes, one should strive to plunge into life and to realize unity with the new era and the new masses; strive to study Marxism-Leninism and Mao Zedong Thought, improve one's ability to understand life, analyze life and penetrate appearances to grasp the basic essence of things; study and draw on the experience of the best literary and art legacy of China and abroad, strive "to stand on the shoulders of giants" and carry out artistic explorations and creations.

Heaven is high enough for birds to fly. We should continue to liberate thinking, straighten out the direction, rouse the spirit, immerse ourselves in hard work, and climb toward new peaks of literature and art!

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PARTY AND STATE

RUMOR OF ZHOU YANG RESIGNATION FROM PROPAGANDA POST REPORTED

Hong Kong CHENG MING in Chinese No 12, 1 Dec 81 pp 12-13

[Article in "Word From the North" column by Luo Bing [5012 0393]: "Rumor of Zhou Yang's Resignation and Lin Mohan's Promotion"]

[Text] In Beijing, a story is spreading like wildfire among cultural circles. Even after officials had denied it, it is still circulating and drawing comment. This is the story of the resignation of Zhou Yang (deputy director of the CCP Central Committee Propaganda Department). Did this actually happen? Is this rumor really without foundation?

Self-Dismissal From Office

A friend in literary and art circles told me that the story of Zhou Yang's resignation is true, but that it is possible that he has become an adviser to the CCP Central Committee Propaganda Department. As for his post as chairman of the All-China Federation of Literature and Art Circles, it is, as before, viz, "without a leader there are no members."

Obviously, this is not a trivial piece of news. For over 50 years, except for the Cultural Revolution period, he has always occupied an important position in the Chinese Communist literary world, and we can even almost say that Zhou Yang and no other has held the baton in this world. Look at his personal history: he was born in 1908. He studied in Japan and returned to Shanghai in 1930, becoming the secretary of the CCP's United Left Parties and Leagues and the secretary of the Cultural Committee of the CCP Shanghai Central Bureau. During the war of resistance against Japan, he went to Yan'an and became director of the Lu Xun Art Academy and president of Yan'an University. After new China was founded, he held the posts of vice minister in the Ministry of Culture, vice chairman of the All-China Federation of Literature and Art Circles, and vice chairman of the Chinese Writers Association. After the downfall of the gang of four, he became deputy director of the Propaganda Department of the CCP Central Committee, chairman of the All-China Federation of Literature and Art Circles, and chairman of the Folk Literature Research Society. From his personal history we can see that Zhou Yang's primary role is not as a commentator on literature and art, and not as a translator (he translated Tolstoy's famous work "Anna Karenina"), but as a literary and art official.

Why would this experienced literary and art official withdraw from the political stage where he plays an important role?

Frequent Feelings of Depression

My friend said that the resignation by the 73-year-old Zhou Yang had a rather good reason, viz, that his health was not good. During the Cultural Revolution, when he was attacked, Zhou Yang contracted cancer. For the past several years, he has often been sick. Zhou Yang's resignation from the post of deputy minister of culture is explained adequately by this reason, but there was not a question of abandoning his lifelong regimen.

"Obviously, there was a more significant factor in Zhou Yang's resignation from the post of deputy director of the Propaganda Department," my friend said.

"Are you saying that because he was criticized by the central leaders for a slack and weak attitude in his leadership at the beginning of the current campaign to criticize liberalism that Zhou Yang was somewhat depressed?"

As a matter of fact, Zhou Yang's morale has not been good for the past several years. At the fourth congress of literary and art workers, Zhou Yang, who in the past had been taunted as being the "czar of literature and art," apologized for his past mistaken criticism of writers. This made a good impression on some people, but others said that he had made a sham self criticism and that his words did not reflect his true feelings."

Going to Distant Fujian

However, looking at his later behavior, Zhou Yang is possibly one "whose understanding is correct now but was wrong before." During the first criticism this year of Bai Hua [author of "Unrequited Love"], Zhou Yang's criticism of Bai Hua was mild. But even so, many people in literary and art circles still kept their distance and would have nothing to do with him. And this, in comparison with other officials of his high rank, weighed on his mind and depressed him. Thus, Zhou Yang was pressured from above and from below and found himself in the difficult position of not being able to placate either party. In addition, there were his old age and health problems, and so he tendered his resignation and went to Fujian.

"Zhou Yang is a Hunanese; as the saying goes, 'when one retires one returns to one's native place,' and his native place is Hunan, not Fujian. Why did he go to Fujian?"

"For this there is also an exalted reason given, viz, that he went to Fujian to inspect the propaganda work there."

"Doesn't that mean that he is still functioning in his post of deputy director of the Propaganda Department?"

"Perhaps the central authorities have not yet approved his request for resignation."

A Change in Thinking

"What is Zhou Yang doing in Fujian?"

My friend in the last 2 days had been meeting with an artist who had just come to Beijing from Fujian, and so he understood something about Zhou Yang's situation in Fujian. "It is said that Zhou Yang has held several forums in Xiamen [Amoy] with

local propaganda personnel, where he spoke of many things that were on his mind. For example, there was Yang Du's [2799 1653] charge that he, Zhou, believed in Buddhism and Zhang Shizhao's [4545 1102 6856] charge that "if Zhou Yang was not against communism then he was against the people." This shows that we must be somewhat dialectical in our way of looking at, and our attitude toward, him. Also, in this speech he put strong emphasis on patriotism but did not stress socialism at all. These words show that Zhou Yang's thinking has changed, that he has become more open minded, and that he is not like certain people whose thinking becomes more rigid the older they become."

My friend's words made me a little excited. If Zhou Yang's thinking is becoming more enlightened, this will be good for the literary and art world. People should welcome him!

Because Zhou Yang's resignation is not unrelated to the criticism of Bai Hua and the criticism of "liberalism," the theme of the talk with my friend naturally turned to criticism of "liberalism."

A Model

"Many people in literary and art circles were in the forefront of criticizing 'liberalism.' There was a strange phenomenon, viz, that the criticism of the things singled out by the central authorities was half hearted, while the criticism of Li Jian [2621 0494] for writing "Praise and Villainy" as well as over 10 other short stories which had incurred the wrath of the masses was very strong. The press in Beijing and Shanghai have frequently carried criticisms of Li Jian's low-class creations. Isn't this phenomenon very interesting?"

"I hear that Bai Hua made a written self criticism that was inadequate compared to the self criticism written by Sun Jingxuan [1327 7234 6513], author of the poem 'A Spirit Wandering Over the Great Land of China,' and must be made more 'deep' like the latter."

"XINHUA used over 1,000 characters to report Sun Jingxuan's self criticism, but I fear things are not so simple, are they?"

"That's right. Sun's self criticism is the model. It is the hope of certain officials that all writers with a 'tendency toward liberalism' will study Sun Jingxuan's model."

"From looking at the works with a so called 'tendency toward liberalism,' I see that their theme is exposure of the dark side of things and opposition to bureaucratic privileges. After this criticism, I fear it will be hard to again see any 'literature of exposure'!"

My friend sighed, "Literature must always reflect reality. As long as the dark side of things exists and as long as the creations of writers display their conscience, I believe the works exposing scars cannot be stamped out."

Mohan's Promotion

"What if the pressure on them is very great?"

"I believe the pressure will not lessen. Especially as the new minister of culture will be a 'cultural strongman.'"

My friend told me that Lin Mohan will probably be the minister of culture, and his name had already been put forward at a meeting of the POLITBURO of the Central Committee.

Lin Mohan's really "strong" personal history is: he was born in 1913 and studied in Japan. After returning to China, he did underground work and cultural work. In 1938, he went to Yan'an and worked in the office of Yan'an's ZHONGGUO WENHUA and JIEFANG RIBAO, in the office of Chongqing's XINHUA RIBAO, and in the offices of Shanghai's and Hong Kong's weekly QUNZHONG. After the founding of the state, he worked in the Cultural and Educational Committee of the Government Administrative Council and in the Propaganda Department of the CCP Central Committee, and was deputy director of the Central Committee Propaganda Department. In recent years, he has been vice minister of culture and vice chairman of the All-China Federation of Literature and Art Circles. However, my friend said that Lin Mohan's being a "cultural strongman" is not indicated by his personal history but by his thinking, work style, and strata-gems...." I reckon he will get a tight grip on cultural work and on literary and art work. The question is whether he will be popular."

A More Restrictive Atmosphere?

After the downfall of the gang of four, many problems persisted in the Ministry of Culture. Because many people in the ministry and many intellectuals had complaints about Minister Huang Zhen, he was transferred out. Zhou Weizhi was then made acting minister. Zhou Weizhi is a musician and, although he has experience in the work of administering the arts, he is not qualified to be the minister of culture. As a result, his prestige in the cultural work and in the Ministry of Culture was not high. During this period of criticism, Zhou Weizhi also made an inspection of the "slackness and weakness" in the ministry's work. However, some people in the upper strata of the CCP Central Committee were still uneasy about him, and therefore Lin Mohan, whose actions during the criticism of Bai Hua had been comparatively more vigorous, was promoted to be the minister.

As the conversation with my friend was rapidly coming to a close, we simultaneously voiced our worries: The "left" tendency will again gain a little ground. Doesn't Zhou Yang's resignation and Lin Mohan's promotion mean a more restrictive atmosphere in this field?

My friend finally said: to be minister of culture is truly a hard and unprofitable job. Obviously, to replace Zhou Yang as deputy director of the Central Committee Propaganda Department is also a hard and unprofitable assignment. There is another way of speaking about a hard and unprofitable assignment, viz, that it is a challenge. The higher authorities make strict demands upon you, and your subordinates stand up to you. You are like meat caught in a grinder, and it is hard to deal with them both!

Let us wait and see how things turn out.

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